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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 245

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN VETOES FEDERAL SPENDING CUT RESOLUTION

OW240144 Beijing XINHUA in English 0107 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan applied his first presidential veto this morning over a congressional resolution concerning a federal spending cut for fiscal 1982. The new development has dramatized the confrontation between Congress and the White House in their protracted budget battles.

The latest chapter in the battle followed a weekend of nearly non-stop negotiating between House and Senate conferees that ended Sunday night with Congressional approval of a 428 billion dollar stopgap financing resolution for fiscal year 1982 which started October 1 this year. Out of all those billions, Reagan and Congress have haggled over several billion dollars spending cuts.

Last September, the President asked Congress for 12 percent cuts in discretionary, nonmilitary programs from the 1982 budget, amounting to 8.5 billion dollars on top of 35 billion dollars in cuts approved by Congress last summer in view of mounting budget deficit prediction for the next few years. Being afraid of strong public reaction to the planned deep cuts, Congress granted only 2 billion dollars out of the 8.5 billion dollars in domestic spending cuts Reagan asked for.

Reagan agreed last week to accept 4 billion dollars in cuts and asked for a 15-day extension of the debate while Congress and the White House worked to resolve their disagreements. He threatened to use his veto if Congress could not take his suggestions. Congressional leaders acknowledged that a veto override--needing a two-thirds vote in both houses--was virtually impossible. Nonetheless, Congress defied the veto threat Sunday as both the Democratic House and the Republican Senate decided to send the disputed 428 billion dollars measure to the White House.

In his veto statement, Reagan said he could not sign a budget-busting appropriations bill that would finance the entire government at levels well above his recommendations, and thus set back his efforts to halt the excessive government spending "that has fueled inflation and high interest rates and destroyed investments for new jobs."

After announcing his veto statement, Reagan called an emergency cabinet meeting this morning to begin shutting down non-essential government services as he planned in September to save federal spending. The White House estimated that 400,000 of the 2.9 million federal employees could be furloughed without pay by the end of the business Tuesday.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. SECURITY ADVISER ALLEN UNDER INVESTIGATION

OW301642 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, November 29 (XINHUA)--White House national security adviser Richard Allen is under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) because of his alleged, illegal wrong-doing in accepting 1,000 U.S. dollars from Japanese journalists.

Allen, in an interview with NBC television network today, said he has requested an administrative leave from his position in Reagan's administration during the FBI investigation. Reagan reportedly has accepted Allen's request.

This incident became publicly known after a Japanese newspaper reported November 13 that Allen had accepted 1,000 U.S. dollars from a Japanese magazine as a honorarium for the first lady for an interview with her on the second day of Reagan's inauguration.

After learning about the newspaper report, Allen said that he had accepted the money, but denied it was a bribe. He said he had given the money to a secretary who put it in an office safe. He said he intended to turn the money over to the federal government, but forgot to do so.

On the same day as the Japanese newspaper report, Fred Fielding, counsel to the U.S. President, issued a statement saying that the FBI had investigated the matter in mid-September and had cleared Allen of any illegal wrong-doing.

White House spokesman David Gergen also said that Allen was innocent and was "not to be suspected."

However, the Justice Department pointed out in a statement that investigations are still continuing and a final conclusion is yet to be reached.

Recent reports about Allen's acceptance of other Japanese gifts and connections with Japanese businessmen and enterprises complicate the situation.

White House counsel Edwin Meese said today that the White House is waiting for the results of the Justice Department investigation and does not intend at this time to relieve Allen of his post.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATO ENDORSES U.S. NUCLEAR ARMS TALKS POLICY

OW210740 Beijing XINHUA in English 0713 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Brussels, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The permanent representatives of the North Atlantic allies today "warmly welcomed" the recent speech by U.S. President Ronald Reagan offering to cancel deployment of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles if the Soviets dismantle their SS-20 missiles and retire their SS-4 and SS-5 missiles.

A statement issued after a meeting of NATO's special consultative group on nuclear arms control declares, "The allies fully support this negotiating position" of the United States in the talks due to begin in Geneva on November 30. It also said the allies, "support the U.S. determination to achieve concrete negotiated results at the earliest possible time" and that they "fully endorse" Reagan's statement that "the U.S. will negotiate in good faith and will listen to and consider Soviet proposals."

U.S. assistant secretary of state for European affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger told a press conference that today's meeting indicated that "the United States will be entering the negotiations fully and firmly supported by its allies."

He stressed that the United States is disappointed by initial Soviet press reaction to Reagan's proposal but it is still hopeful that the Soviet leaders will not discard the important opportunity it presents.

He also told the newsmen that close consultations within NATO's special consultative group will continue and that the implementation of NATO's modernization decision will proceed parallel with the negotiations. He stated that the United States will carry on the production of Pershing II and cruise missiles as planned.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ENVOY PHILIP HABIB TO REVISIT MIDDLE EAST

OW211319 Beijing XINHUA in English 1251 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan's special envoy, Philip Habib, will return to the Middle East later this month to "reduce tension" that has arisen there lately, the State Department said today.

Habib, who will be accompanied by Morris Draper, deputy assistant secretary for the Middle East, is expected to travel to Israel, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria--the same countries he visited before.

Habib was first sent to the Middle East in May to "defuse tension" in Lebanon over a dispute on Syrian missiles in Lebanon. Later in July he went there again to help arrange a ceasefire between Israel and forces of Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon following Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters buildings there.

Announcing Habib's Mideast tour, State Department spokesman Dean Fischer said, "Although the Lebanon-Israel situation has remained relatively quiet and stable since the July cessation of hostilities, tensions have been rising lately."

It was reported that sporadic fightings broke out continuously in Lebanon's southern boundary region and Israel often invaded the air space over southern Lebanon and Beirut on so-called "reconnaissance flights" in recent days under the pretext that PLO has been reinforcing its positions there "in violation of the ceasefire."

Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan warned on November 16 that Israel might launch a wide-ranging military operation against Lebanon prior to the Arab League summit "so as to create new tension" in the Middle East.

Fischer said that the United States remains "committed to reinforcing the stability of the situation and strengthening the cessation of hostilities" in the area.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HAIG, WEINBERGER ON CENTRAL AMERICAN SITUATION

OW230922 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--The Reagan administration, concerned about latest developments in Central America, especially the sharp increase in arms flow from the Soviet Union to this area, is planning contingency countermeasures.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig said here today there has been "a high influx of sophisticated armaments" to Nicaragua "from the Eastern bloc, from the Soviet Union, directly through Cuba."

Interviewed on an ABC TV program, Haig said that the Nicaraguan Government is creating a "huge military structure". According to Haig, this is going to threaten the U.S. and neighboring countries. "This is just not in the interests of the Western hemisphere," he said. "It is incumbent upon us to work in political, economic and security areas to try to prevent this drastic outcome."

Secretary of Defense Weinberger said in an interview on NBC's "Meet the Press" program that vital U.S. interests are involved in Central America. "It is close to the United States in an area from which all kinds of problems could arise, if it were turned into some sort of an armed camp against the United States, so certainly vital interests of the United States are involved...."

Weinberger revealed there is contingency planning that goes on a 12-month basis to look at what should be done or what should be recommended, and a number of options should be available in each hypothetical situation in the event certain things occur. According to press reports, President Reagan has been involved in a series of unpublicized discussions with his top national security aides.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WEINBERGER, HAIG TALK ON U.S. MILITARY POLICY

OW230857 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 22 Nov (XINHUA)—The Reagan administration is determined to regain America's military strength and to rearm America so that it can negotiate with the Soviet Union from a "position of strength," U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said today.

Weinberger made his remarks on U.S. arms control policy in an interview on NBC "Meet the Press" program.

He said since it took office in January this year, the Reagan administration has been carrying out a policy to arm and regain the strength of the United States so that it can enter into effective negotiating discussions from a "position of strength." You never get any kind of good result if you enter from weakness," he added.

He noted the important problem is to ensure that what we're talking about is "a real and genuine reduction". All of the enormous Soviet expansion that's been done in recent months comes within the terms of the so-called SALT II, and that isn't any kind of an effective reduction.

Asked whether the anti-nuclear demonstrations in Western Europe would affect the NATO's planned deployment of the intermediate range missiles, Weinberger said he has to differentiate between the demonstrations and the actions of the governments. "The actions of the governments have been almost uniformly supportive of the deployment of the missiles planned in Europe, and have been, since the December 1979 resolution of NATO, reaffirming it as recently as two months ago at Gleneagles in Scotland", he said.

Speaking of the theater nuclear forces talks between the United States and the Soviet Union starting on November 30 in Geneva, Weinberger said the United States hopes they will go very well in the sense of resulting in an agreement of the Soviets to dismantle their SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5, and the United States on its side not to deploy the contemplated missiles.

Referring to the upcoming U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, appearing today on ABC TV program "This Week With David Brinkley", also

stressed that the United States in coordination with its allies must avoid "at all cost" the pitfall of the Soviet Union. "I am very confident that the consensus for the deployment of our Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe remains firm and solid," he said.

He said the trends that the increased level of Soviet spending was over American spending in the defense area over the last 20 years must be reversed. "And if we don't rectify these trends...we'll be distinctly inferior by any measure of quality or quantity," he added.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HAIG SAYS U.S. CONSIDERING BOYCOTT OF LIBYAN OIL

OW241906 Beijing XINHUA in English 1851 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Cairo, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The United States might begin a boycott of Libya's oil, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced recently in a speech in Florida.

This is the latest U.S. attempt to put political pressure on Libya. Observers here, however, doubt that the United States will do so.

The Exxon Corporation, which began doing business in Libya in the late 1950s, declared on November 10 that it was suspending business in Libya. This announcement followed a similar one from the Mobil Oil Company, which had already stopped operating in Libya.

But the actions of these two companies are not a "response" to the U.S. Government. Rather, it is because the price of Libyan oil is too high.

The U.S. Western Oil Company and some other U.S. oil corporations said they would continue doing business in Libya.

Meanwhile, the Italian state-run Agip Company and other oil companies from France, West Germany, Brazil and the Netherlands are still conducting business in Libya. Two Canadian companies are waiting for their licenses to exploit in Libya.

After the announcement by Exxon, chairman of the Libyan National Oil Corporation (Wahid Omar bu Ghaigis) said, "It is sad to lose a partner of 25 years, but in our oil industry, one withdraws and you have 10 others knocking on the door."

Libya's oil exports to the United States account for 2 percent of U.S. consumption and 5 percent of its oil imports.

In 1980, the total value of U.S. imports of Libyan oil amounted to seven billion U.S. dollars. The value of Libya's oil exports to the U.S. for the first eight months of this year was 4.6 billion dollars, compared with six billion dollars for the corresponding period of last year.

Recently, Libya's oil production stood at 650,000 barrels a day, of which 40 percent went to the United States for strategic storage.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT ON BREZHNEV PROPOSAL

OW250900 Beijing XINHUA in English 0734 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Washington, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department today dismissed Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's proposal for nuclear arms reduction as containing "nothing that is significantly new," but also noted Brezhnev's "willingness to consider reductions."

The Soviet offer is "another version of the old moratorium proposal" it has made on several occasions, beginning in 1979, the statement said. "At the same time, we would hope that President Brezhnev's willingness to consider reductions is a sign that the Soviets are beginning to see the advantages of pursuing genuine arms reductions in this area," it continued.

President Reagan proposed last week that the Soviet Union dismantle its medium-range missiles targeted on Western Europe, in exchange for America's cancellation of plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

In a speech in Bonn yesterday Brezhnev rejected Reagan's "zero option", calling it an attempt to "disarm us." Instead, he offered to cut the number of Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe if the U.S. called off its deployment plans in Europe.

The statement reiterated the U.S. commitment "to negotiate in good faith." "A dialogue is underway" which, the statement said, "is reason for encouragement."

The talks on the theatre nuclear forces in Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union are scheduled to begin in Geneva on November 30.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MEXICAN FOREIGN SECRETARY COMMENTS ON HAIG'S VISIT

OW251554 Beijing XINHUA in English 1509 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Text] Mexico City, November 24 (XINHUA)--Mexico and the United States have agreed to make contacts with other countries to seek a reasonable solution to the conflicts in Central America, said Mexican Foreign Secretary Jorge Castaneda today.

Castaneda was speaking at a press conference held here shortly after U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's departure for home at the end of a 2-day visit to Mexico.

The foreign secretary disclosed that President Lopez Portillo told Haig in their meeting today that it would be a great historical error if the United States intervened militarily in Central American or Caribbean states.

Haig said that "for the moment the United States is not considering intervening militarily in Nicaragua or Cuba." The United States is studying measures other than force to settle problems in Central America and the Caribbean, Haig was quoted as saying.

Castaneda said that Mexico and the United States differ on ways to solve the problems in Central America and the Caribbean region, but that they have come much closer in the objectives they are seeking in that respect.

A binational commission has been formed to discuss bilateral issues, political issues in particular, through regular meetings, he said. The two sides also agreed that the foreign ministers of the two countries will meet twice a year from next year.

Before leaving here, Haig indicated that the United States will work with Mexico, Venezuela and Canada to seek ways to solve economic problems of the Caribbean region.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ASEAN-U.S. ECONOMIC TIES CONTINUE TO DEVELOP

OW281545 Beijing XINHUA in English 1535 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Hong Kong, November 28 (XINHUA)--Economic ties between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the United States have grown rapidly in recent years with U.S. economic interests increasing in the ASEAN region.

The total volume of trade between ASEAN and the United States reached 21 billion U.S. dollars in 1980, compared to only 11 billion dollars in 1977.

U.S. investments have increased in the ASEAN region to 4.5 billion dollars in 1980, compared to 3.5 billion dollars in 1975. These statistics show that U.S. companies have become interested in making investments in the ASEAN region. The investments made by the Overseas Private Investment Corp. are typical of many U.S. companies' interest in the ASEAN region. Craig Nalen, chairman of the corporation's board of directors, said the corporation plans to build 77 projects valued at 2 billion dollars.

The United States also has increased its economic aid to ASEAN nations. The U.S. Export-Import Bank in 1980 pledged to loan ASEAN countries 2 billion dollars for industrial development.

In recent years, all the copra and coconut oil, 90 percent of the natural rubber and 70 percent of the tin the United States has needed were supplied by ASEAN nations. At the same time ASEAN has become an important market for U.S. products.

ASEAN countries and the United States have three rounds of talks since 1977 to strengthen their economic ties. As a result of those meetings, an economic coordination committee in Washington, D.C., and a joint commercial council have been organized.

ASEAN countries have urged the United States to make bilateral economic ties a base for mutual equality and benefit to help create an impartial international economic order.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HAIG ON ARMS TALKS, NATO MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

OW010401 Beijing XINHUA in English 0325 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, November 30 (XINHUA)--Progress in the current U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms talks in Geneva depends "on NATO's resolve to continue its preparations to deploy the missiles that will offset Soviet advantages," U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said today.

In a statement made here this afternoon to coincide with the opening of the U.S.-Soviet talks on medium range nuclear missiles in Europe, Haig noted, "These preparations are the incentive that brought the Soviets to the negotiations and that will encourage them now to take a serious position."

Parallel implementation of modernization of NATO's nuclear forces and negotiation, as agreed in the 1979 "double decision," "offers the only hope for an agreement that will assure our security for years to come," he added.

Under the "double decision," 572 U.S.-made Pershing II and cruise missiles are to be deployed in western Europe beginning from late 1983 to counter Soviet triple-warheaded SS-20 missiles.

Haig reiterated the call for Soviet dismantling of its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 missiles in Europe in exchange for non-deployment of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles.

"Our position takes into account Soviet desires that we will not implement our modernization decision. We now look to the Soviets to show an equally forthcoming attitude," Haig said.

However, he said, "We are disappointed that the Soviet position remains the moratorium proposal they first advanced two years ago."

At the same time, he said, "We are hopeful that the negotiations will bring a more forthcoming stance. Clearly, both sides have a stake in reaching an equitable and verifiable agreement that improves mutual security and confidence."

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S., ISRAEL SIGN STRATEGIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT

OW010824 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, November 30 (XINHUA)--A "memorandum of understanding on strategic cooperation" between the U.S. and Israel was signed here this evening by U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and visiting Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

"The agreement is designed to enable the two countries to act cooperatively, to provide each other military assistance to cope with threats to the security of the entire (Middle East) region caused by the USSR or Soviet-controlled forces introduced from outside the region into the region," says a joint press statement issued after the two defense chiefs' five-hour talks in the Pentagon today.

The statement notes, "The strategic cooperation is not directed at any state or group of states within the Middle East."

According to the memorandum, the U.S. and Israel would conduct "joint military exercises, including naval and air exercises in the eastern Mediterranean," cooperate for "establishment of joint readiness activities, including access to maintenance facilities," and cooperate in research and development in "defense trade" and "other fields within the basic scope and purpose of this agreement."

Though U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin had agreed on the principles of such a pact during their meetings here last September, the two sides were reported to have been at odds over how far their military cooperation should go.

According to informed sources here, the Israelis intended to have a much closer relationship than Washington had in mind. The WASHINGTON POST reported on November 27 that the United States fears that a de facto military alliance with Israel would foreclose any close U.S. military cooperation with Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia.

Ariel Sharon arrived here this morning on a mission apparently aimed at ironing out differences between the two countries. When asked after his meeting with Weinberger if he was satisfied, Sharon said, "It was what we sought."

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. PROFESSOR AGAINST TAIWAN ARMS SALE

OW010235 Beijing XINHUA in English 0220 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, November 30 (XINHUA)--The U.S. administration is urged not to interfere in China's internal affairs with arms sale to Taiwan by a letter published in the NEW YORK TIMES today.

The letter was addressed by Philip A. Kuhn, professor of history of Harvard University. It says "To sell Taiwan advanced fighters with offensive capability would be an act of international foolishness that would harm our foreign policy for years to come," and "it would set back the clock in Sino-American relations by interfering once again in the Chinese civil war, an outdated and dangerous enterprise that we have properly renounced."

"When Peking warns that it will have to react against interference in China's internal affairs, it is hardly going beyond what any sovereign state must affirm," the letter says.

It also says that "we all have a stake in the well-being of friends and colleagues in Taiwan. The world has an even more momentous stake in a stable China (including Taiwan)."

"The Taiwan armament deal may bring short-term political relief to a harassed Reagan leadership. But it would be at unacceptable long-term cost to the nation's foreign policy," the letter concludes.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNGA DELEGATES CONDEMN S. AFRICA'S APARTHEID

OW011253 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, November 30 (XINHUA)--At the U.N. General Assembly debate on South Africa's apartheid policy today, many speakers pointed out that there will be no peace and stability in southern Africa until South Africa's apartheid system is abolished.

Representatives of more than 30 nations took part in the debate which lasted from morning till night.

Egyptian representative Ahmad 'Isamat 'Abd al-Majid said that the racist regime of South Africa was trying to maintain its domination by oppression and a policy of aggression which had made the situation in South Africa "explosive" and "blood-chilling." Referring to thousands of men, women and children who had died under the policy of apartheid, he said that the South African racist regime had committed "unspeakable crimes."

The representative of Botswana, Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, said: "We seek nothing for South Africa than the abolition of the evil policy of apartheid and respect for the dignity of black South Africans, and the restoration of their right to participate freely in the political and economic life of their country."

S.R. Fillie-Faboe, minister of state for foreign affairs of Sierra Leone, said that Sierra Leone placed maximum emphasis on the elimination of apartheid from the African continent, recognizing that the primary victims and targets of that criminal policy were black people, not only in South Africa, but elsewhere in Africa and in the world.

Syrian representative Diya' Allah al-Fattah noted that apartheid remained the greatest stumbling block to decolonization in the post-colonial era. He said that the collaboration with the racist regime by transnational corporations was the essential reason why Pretoria had continued its repressive policies in Namibia. He emphasized the urgency of imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Romanian representative Constantin Flitan said that the actions of the South African regime were flagrant violations of the norms and principles of international law. They seriously aggravated the situation in southern Africa and added new elements of tension to the region, he added. He urged the United Nations to undertake more resolute and effective actions to support the oppressed people in South Africa.

Jamaican representative Stafford Neil condemned the racist ideology and practice of apartheid as a crime against humanity and as a threat to international peace and security. He said that the persistence of brutal repression inside South Africa and armed aggression against neighbouring states confirmed that the racist regime of South Africa would stop at nothing to maintain white domination and the virtual enslavement of the black population.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SEMINAR ON LU XUN OPENS IN NEW DELHI 9 NOVEMBER

OW100755 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 9 Nov 81

[Text] New Delhi, 9 Nov (XINHUA)--The inaugural meeting of the seminar in commemoration of the birth centenary of Lu Xun, the great Chinese writer, was held this afternoon in J. Nehru University here.

About 300 representatives of Indian circles of literature, art and education were present. Before the meeting, a photo and book exhibition on Lu Xun was opened.

During the meeting chaired by Dr Y. Nayudamma, vice-chancellor of the university, speakers noted that Lu Xun was not only a great writer, but also a great thinker and revolutionary. His works and valuable legacy are treasured by the world literature and people of many countries, including the Indian people.

Speaking at the meeting, Chinese Ambassador Shen Jian at the meeting reviewed the growing cultural exchange between China and India. He said that the seminar and other commemorative activities of Lu Xun in India will be a further contribution to the understanding and friendship between the Chinese and Indian people.

The seminar will last for three days. About 40 papers will be read at the seminar, including "Lu Xun--The Pioneers of Sino-Indian Literary Intercourse" by Wang Shijing, vice-president of Lu Xun Study Society and professor of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

A Chinese feature film "New Year's Sacrifice" based on Lu Xun's short story of the same name was shown after the meeting.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL FOLLOWS 'ARROGANT' COURSE DESPITE ISOLATION

OW211332 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 21 Nov 81

["Commentary: Israel--Its Worry and Option--by XINHUA Correspondent Chen Peiming"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Cairo, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Israel is besieged with surging Arab demands for the restoration of Palestine national rights and an over-all peaceful settlement of the Middle East issue.

As most of the Arab countries are in favour of Saudi Arabia's peace formula, the settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute will begin a new stage, although the road ahead would be long and torturous. The Saudi plan will head the agenda of the Arab League summit in Fes. This poses a challenge to the expansionist policy of the Begin regime.

Egypt, an adherent of the Camp David accord, welcomes Saudi Arabia to join the peaceful dialogue. Cairo has repeatedly assured Israel that it will not change its policy for Middle East peace and will keep its agreements with Israel. But Israel is fearful of the prospects arising from its final withdrawal from Sinai in April next year. That is why Egypt has spared no effort to calm down Israel's fears. Egyptian newspapers say.

The Begin regime also takes a skeptical and opposite attitude toward West Europe. EEC countries called for more participants in the Middle East negotiations. French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said on November 19, "Peace would not be achieved in the Middle East unless negotiations were held among the parties concerned including the Palestine Liberation Organization." But Israel stubbornly refuses to recognize PLO.

The Begin regime also strongly opposed the participation of West European countries in the multi-national peace-keeping force in Sinai, criticizing them for attempting to link up this issue with finding a formula in place of the Camp David accords. Thus the Israeli regime has estranged itself from the West European countries.

Israel also entertains some apprehension of the United States although the Reagan administration does not change its bias towards Israel, nor does it change its non-recognition of PLO or accept Saudi Arabia's Middle East peace proposal. The

press here noted, "Israel is seeing her best friends drawing away from her. She has become increasingly convinced that her friends are selling her for petro-dollars and since the AWACS deal with Saudi Arabia, she has felt that other quarters are shaking her long-standing influence in America." "Israel is passing through a strenuosity of mind which an Israeli politician expressed as 'dark sweeping clouds gathering in the sky and filling one's minds with an ominous feeling of depression,'" it said.

Despite its awkward situation, the Begin clique remains as arrogant as ever. It has rejected the Saudi proposal and kept sending planes to intrude into Saudi Arabia's air-space. It is planning new provocations in southern Lebanon. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Begin regime continued its policy of establishing new settlements and brutally suppressing the Palestinian people. The Israeli opposition sources criticized the regime's policy as a "foolish policy" which greatly damages Israel before the world public opinion.

The time is imminent when the Begin clique has to choose: either to remain as hostile to the Arab and Palestinian people as ever or to face the reality and make a complete change of its policy of aggression and expansion.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' REPORTS ON ITALIAN ROLE IN NATO, EUROPE

OW211945 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 21 Nov 81

[Text] Rome, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--Italian Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini told a cabinet meeting today that Italy and France have identical goals on most European and international issues, and described the atmosphere in which he held talks with French leaders during his just-concluded two-day visit to France as "extremely cordial".

The local newspapers, commenting on the Italian prime minister's visit to France, gave prominence to what they called a new development in the bilateral relations--the institution of regular consultations between the leaders and officials at ministerial level of the two countries, because such consultations only existed between France and West Germany and between France and Britain in the past.

It is also reported that the rift which resulted from last summer's "wine war" between the two countries has been healed and that the mutual visits Italian President Ales Sandro Pertini and French President Francois Mitterrand are expected to pay to each other's country will bring the two countries still closer.

Italy, in terms of economic power, is placed fourth in Europe next to West Germany, France and Britain, and sixth in the Western world. It has all along been striving to play a positive role which matches its national strength in international affairs, especially within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European community. Last summer, Italy defying Soviet pressure and intimidations resolved to build a cruise missile base on Sicily Island to help strengthen NATO's southern wing. It has taken the lead in offering to join the peace-keeping forces in Sinai so as to help maintain a stable situation in the Middle East. It has made efforts to ensure Malta's neutrality and her "special role" in the Mediterranean region. It is also striving to strengthen and enlarge the European community.

On the other hand, Italy has been sensitive to the question whether its international status is duly respected by others. It has resented the fact that Paris and Bonn established a "special relationship" a few years ago to keep West European affairs under their sway.

Since the beginning of this year, however, there have been striking developments in the relations between major West European countries. Greater attention has been

paid to bringing Italy's role into full play. French and West German leaders visited Italy respectively last January and September for further improvement of their relations with the country. West Germany has worked jointly with Italy in preparing a new program aimed at furthering West European union. The program will be submitted to the EEC summit scheduled in London this month for approval.

It was reported that Italian Premier Giovanni Spadolini detected some "new atmosphere" during his recent visit in Paris, when French President Mitterrand reaffirmed his "Europeanism."

LA STAMPA comments that as a result of the establishment of a new relationship between Italy and France, "the Paris-Bonn axis has been replaced by the more equal and concerted ties between the four major nations of the community", which is undoubtedly in the interest of further consolidating West European unity.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'PRAVDA' SHOWS 'CONCERN' OVER FINNISH ELECTIONS

OW231918 Beijing XINHUA in English 1843 GMT 23 Nov 81

[XINHUA headline: "PRAVDA Tries To Influence Finnish Presidential Elections"]

[Text] Helsinki, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--The Soviet paper PRAVDA has expressed its "concern" over the nomination of Finnish presidential candidates as the major Finnish political parties are busy choosing their own candidates for the presidency.

The Finnish presidential elections will be held in January next year owing to President Urho Kekkonen's resignation last month for his ill health.

PRAVDA in an article on November 20 charged that "During Kekkonen's 25 years in office, many people (in Finland) resented his line. Today those people are active again."

The article stressed that the Finnish Centre Party faces "the most decisive decision in its history".

Commenting on the PRAVDA article, a HELSINGIN SANOMAT correspondent based in Moscow said in a dispatch yesterday that PRAVDA indirectly opposed the nomination of the president of the Finnish parliament Johannes Virolainen as the Finnish Centre Party's candidate for presidency and even placed on the list of Soviet enemies the names of those who had been members of the Finnish Government in 1958.

Some Finnish political parties have noted that the Soviet Union has been showing its "concern" over the Finnish presidential elections for some time. They said that last month two high-ranking officials of the Soviet Communist Party had visited Finland and discussed the presidential elections with various Finnish political parties.

The PRAVDA article appeared just two days before the Finnish Centre Party held an extraordinary congress at which Johannes Virolainen was overwhelmingly nominated as the party's presidential candidate after a sharp struggle with his only contestant in the party.

Now, all other major parties in Finland have nominated their candidates for the presidency. Acting President and Prime Minister Mauno Koivisto was nominated as the Social Democratic candidate and Kalevi Kivisto, chairman of the People's Democratic League, as the league's candidate. The nominated candidates are expected to start debates on Finland's internal and external policies from mid-December.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST USSR MILITARY EXPANSION

OW230927 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Bonn, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--More than 30,000 people held demonstrations here today to protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its build-up of SS-20 missiles a few hours before Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's scheduled arrival for a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

They also demanded the safeguarding of human rights and the West-East disarmament.

The demonstrators, including those from the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Norway, held up placards inscribed with slogans: "Soviets out of Afghanistan," "Throw SS-20's to the dust-bin," "No intervention in Poland," and "Self-determination to all peoples". They also demanded a balanced disarmament between the East and West.

About 50 congressmen of the Federal Assembly took part in the demonstrations. About 5,000 Afghans marched through a Bonn suburb, demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their homeland.

Addressing a rally of the demonstrators, chairman of the Young Union of West Germany Matthias Wissmann said that all those who cherish peace cannot close their eyes to the fact that the Soviet Union is beefing up its military strength on an unprecedented scale and pushing its political and military expansion in the Third World countries and neutral regions. He warned Moscow against cherishing the illusion that the world people can tolerate its invasion.

Similar demonstrations were also held in other cities in West Germany and in West Berlin in the past two days.

Brezhnev arrived here today, accompanied by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and some senior Soviet officials, for a four-day working visit. Discussions will centre on disarmament and East-West relations, according to press reports.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GREECE'S PAPANDREOU PRESENTS POLICY STATEMENT

OW231309 Beijing XINHUA in English 1226 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Athens, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--Greece's newly elected Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou told parliament today that his government is primarily concerned to formulate an independent and truly multi-dimensional foreign policy and will nationalize some sectors of industry.

Papandreou was presenting his new government's first policy statement to the 300-member parliament, in which his Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) holds 172 seats after winning general elections last month.

He stressed [that] Greece's strategic position with respect to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) derives from the vision which is the "dissolution of the two cold-war blocs"--NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

As for Greece's membership in NATO, Papandreou did not say he sought Greece's total withdrawal from the alliance, but he did say, "There is no sense in our belonging to the military wing of an alliance which does not guarantee our Eastern borders against any possible threat."

Greece withdrew from NATO in July 1974 and rejoined the alliance after the "Rogers agreement" was signed between NATO and the then Greek Government in 1980.

Papandreou declared today that the Rogers agreement "places in doubt the limits of Greece's operational control in the Aegean, which we deem unacceptable." He said, with the parliament's vote of confidence, his government will be given the mandate to take actions "which will safeguard our borders and protect the interests of our country and people."

He said the government wanted a referendum on Greece's continued membership of the European Economic Community in which the country became the tenth member only last January. However, he said "In any event, until the Greek people decide, we shall give battle within the organs of the European community to defend the interests of the Greek people."

On the American military bases in Greece, Papandreou announced that during the negotiations to be held early next year, "We shall clearly set a timetable for their withdrawal from our country."

Referring to the dialogue between Greece and Turkey, Papandreou said it could have meaning and could produce results only if it was understood that Greece was not prepared to make many "concessions".

"It must be clear both to our neighbours as well as to the Atlantic alliance that our land, air and sea borders, are not negotiable," he added.

The prime minister told parliament that as a guarantor power, Greece "has both the legal right and the obligation to give active support to the struggle of the Cypriot people for the withdrawal of all foreign troops" and to work for the attainment of a just solution to the Cyprus problem.

He called for the pull-out of the fleets of the superpowers from the Mediterranean and a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. "The Balkans should be denuclearized and freed from politico-military blocs," he said.

On the domestic issue, Papandreou announced that his government will carry out what he called the "socialization" of some sectors of industry, including energy, public utilities, large mining enterprises, the steel industry and all defence-related industries.

He stressed that absolute priority will be given to the defence expenditure to continue [to] modernize Greece's military forces and to develop modern war industry.

He also outlined the measures to tackle the thorny economic problems such as inflation and unemployment to revive productivity and to improve the quality of life in the towns and villages.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC NATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN SINAI PEACE FORCE

OW242005 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Paris, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--France, Britain, Italy and the Netherlands today announced their participation in the multinational peace-keeping forces in Sinai.

They had informed the United States, Egypt and Israel of the decision.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the announcement was released in the capitals of the four nations in communiques.

This move has been approved by the other six members of the 10-nation European Common market. The EEC said in a communique that it considered the four-nation decision as "an answer to the wish expressed many times by member countries of the EEC to facilitate all progress towards a Middle East settlement on the basis of a mutual acceptance of the right to existence and security of all states in the region and the need for the Palestinian people to enjoy their full rights of self-determination."

The joint announcement said the decision was made at the request of Egypt, Israel and the United States.

According to the announcement, the peace-keeping force:

--Exists only to maintain peace in Sinai after the Israeli withdrawal;

--It is established in the absence of any United Nations decision to create an international force, and this position will be revised if such a decision is taken;

--The participation of the four governments in this force must not be understood as a commitment to, or preventing them from, participation in other international accords to maintain peace in the Middle East.

The participation of the four governments in the force does not affect their policy on other problems in Middle East.

The announcement stated that the four countries have "considered their support to the agreements relative to carrying out the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty as totally separate and independent from the rest of the Camp David process."

"They have greeted with favour the peace concluded between Israel and Egypt," the announcement said, adding that the nations also "expressed their support for the Egyptian people and government."

Reportedly, the peace-keeping force will include 2,500 troops. The French Foreign Ministry has announced that France will provide the force with logistical support.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH SOLIDARITY UNION CAUTIOUS ON COALITION FRONT

OW240853 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The Solidarity Union will only enter the government proposed front of national accord if each of "the society's three main forces--solidarity, the government, and the church--have the right of veto in it," said Lech Walesa, chairman of the national commission of the Solidarity Union, when speaking at a late night meeting of a local congress of the union's Gdansk branch.

He clearly defined the union's position on the setting up of the front of national accord, and the Polish news agency PAP quotes Walesa as saying that differences exist between the positions of the government and solidarity on the question.

He declared, "The government wants first to establish a front of national accord and solve problems afterwards, while solidarity wants to arrive at the front by way of solving problems."

Walesa said that if, under the conditions posed by the government, solidarity joined the front, "It would be only one of seven socio-political forces" within the organisation. He emphasised "this would not correspond to the union's actual position."

Walesa said that despite the major differences in views, the package talks between the solidarity and the government were "constructive". He said that the two sides had discussed the problems of solidarity's access to the state radio and television and the establishment of a social council for the national economy. He said that a number of other questions would be discussed after solidarity had joined the front of national accord, and described the union-government talks as now having reached a draw.

Walesa appealed for unity and discipline and abstention from wildcat strikes.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SCHMIDT, BREZHNEV BEGIN FIRST ROUND OF TALKS

OW241927 Beijing XINHUA in English 1900 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev yesterday started their first round of talks in Bonn to discuss nuclear armament reduction, according to reports from Bonn.

Statements by the spokesmen of the two sides after the three-hour discussion made clear that the two leaders had set out conflicting views on the nuclear arms issue.

At a banquet given by Schmidt in honour of the Soviet leader, Brezhnev flatly rejected the American proposal on nuclear arms control put forward by U.S. President Ronald Reagan on November 18. The proposal, known as "zero option", was backed by West European countries, West Germany in particular. It calls for the dismantling of the 250 Soviet SS-20 missiles installed in Europe. In return the West will abandon its plan to deploy 572 U.S. missiles in Europe from 1983.

Brezhnev stressed that the Soviet Union would never agree to such a version. He renewed the Soviet proposal for a moratorium on missile deployment in Europe, which has been rejected by the West, and said it would help to create a fine atmosphere.

If the U.S. accepted the moratorium proposal, he said, Moscow was ready to make a unilateral cut in its medium-range missile arsenal, describing this as "a new essential element in our position."

At a press conference, Soviet spokesman Leonid Zamyatin described Reagan's proposal as "very peculiar" and "not acceptable to the Soviet Union." REUTER reported that Schmidt's call for a "zero option" appeared to have received a chilly response from the Soviet side.

Schmidt renewed at the banquet Bonn's commitment to East-West detente but said West Germany was deeply concerned by a Soviet missile buildup in Europe.

He reminded Brezhnev that at their last meeting in West Germany in 1978 they had agreed to respect the principle of approximate military parity.

Since then the Soviet Union had deployed more than 250 mobile SS-20 missiles with more than 750 accurate warheads, which "has a direct impact on our security interests and gives us grounds for great concern," he added.

Schmidt told Brezhnev that if Soviet-American talks on limiting medium-range nuclear arms in Europe failed to bring results by the end of 1983, West Germany would go ahead with the stationing of new U.S. missiles on its soil.

He also reminded the Soviet leader of the need to ensure the independence of Afghanistan and called for a withdrawal of foreign troops from that country and expressed his concern over the situation in Poland.

After the banquet, the chancellor told reporters that the Soviet leader had brought into play a "somewhat different combination" of ideas which had already figured in public discussion.

He acknowledged that despite a "partner-like atmosphere" during his talks with Brezhnev, their standpoints were clearly divergent.

Speaking to reporters after the talks, Soviet spokesman Zamyatin reaffirmed that the Soviet Union could not at present withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, but added that Afghanistan could decide its policies itself. His statement drew laughter among the reporters.

West German spokesman Kurt Becker disclosed that the talks also touched upon European security and situation in Middle East, Afghanistan, the Gulf region, South-east Asia, China, Southern Africa and Central America.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Detrich Genscher and Soviet Foreign Minister A. Gromyko also held talks on international issues. West German Minister of Economics Otto Graf Lambsdorff discussed bilateral economic issues with First Soviet Vice-Chairman of Council of Ministers I.V. Arkhipov.

Leaders of the two countries continued their talks today.

CSO: 4000/21

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MOROCCAN KING DISCUSSES SUSPENSION OF ARAB SUMMIT

OW281219 Beijing XINHUA in English 1205 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Fes, November 27 (XINHUA)--King Hassan II of Morocco told a press conference here this evening that the Arab summit conference was suspended to give the leaders of the Arab countries time to make contacts and exchange views with each other so as to come back to the conference when the time is ripe.

He predicted that the Arab leaders will get together again before June next year.

He pointed out that the Saudi peace proposal on the Middle East was not someone's creation but a summarization by Crown Prince Fahd of the stands and views of the previous Arab summits since 1973. All the eight points of the Saudi proposal were studied by the parties concerned. The proposal's objective is to strike at the common enemy and proclaim to the world that Israel is the enemy of peace.

He said: "I am convinced that through consultations all the Arab countries will reach identical view on the Saudi proposal."

He disclosed that during his forthcoming visit to the United States he will talk about the Saudi peace proposal with President Ronald Reagan. But, he added, the United States will strive to safeguard the Camp David accords and turn a deaf ear to any other proposal.

The king stated that "It is unthinkable to contemplate the existence of the Arab world or the Arab League or the Islamic conference without the presence of a country such as Egypt."

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEAN MINISTRY VIEWS SINGAPORE PROPOSAL

OW281655 Beijing XINHUA in English 1642 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, November 28 (XINHUA)--The Information Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea stated yesterday that Democratic Kampuchea "did not specify explicitly its position" on the Singapore proposal but "only indicated that it would give the proposal further and serious consideration," according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea today.

The Information Ministry statement was in reference to the proposal put forward by S. Rajaratnam, second deputy prime minister of Singapore, calling for the formation of a Democratic Kampuchean coalition government.

The Information Ministry said: "On November 24, 1981, upon his departure to Singapore from Bangkok, Singapore's second deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs S. Rajaratnam released a press communique on his meetings on November 22-23 with His Excellency Khieu Samphan, president of the Presidium of the State of Democratic Kampuchea and prime minister, and His Excellency Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs, and with the other Kampuchean sides."

The Information Ministry stated:

"1. The press communique was released by Rajaratnam himself before His Excellency and the Singapore delegation wound up their visit to Bangkok and returned to Singapore.

"2. No joint statement of any kind was signed during the meetings on November 22-23 between the three Kampuchean sides and His Excellency Rajaratnam.

"3. The Democratic Kampuchean side had serious and detailed discussions with Rajaratnam on His Excellency's proposal, but it did not specify explicitly its position and only indicated that it would give the proposal further and serious consideration. This was because the proposal constitutes a new problem and does not conform to the major progress made in Bangkok by the tripartite ad hoc committee, the accomplishment on November 14, 1981, in particular. His Excellency Rajaratnam suggested that the Democratic Kampuchean side consider his proposal within two months."

It may be recalled that during his visit to Bangkok, Rajaratnam had talks with the three resistance forces from Kampuchea and put forward his proposal on the formation of a "loose coalition government" in Kampuchea. Earlier, the ad hoc committee, composed of the three Kampuchean sides, had held nine meetings. On November 14, the three sides reached a four-principle agreement with some reservations. The four principles are: domination of powers by no side whatever, tripartite equality, unanimity through consultation and no change to be made in the state system of Democratic Kampuchea.

The 10th ad hoc committee meeting was cancelled because of the Singapore proposal.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STAMBOLIC SAYS YUGOSLAVIA FOLLOWS TITO'S ROAD

OW280854 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (XINHUA)--Yugoslav Vice-President Petar Stambolic said today Yugoslavia is advancing steadily along the road charted by Tito.

The vice-president of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said this in an interview with TANJUG director Aleksandar Bakovic and editor-in-chief Mihailo Saranovic on the eve of Yugoslavia's National Day.

Stambolic said, "There was a gap in Yugoslavia after the death of Tito. Many questions were asked in the world: What would happen to Yugoslavia and what road would it take? Now Yugoslavia has smoothly passed the transitional period through the constitutional procedure defined by Tito."

Yugoslavia continues to adhere to its system of socialist self-management, he said. In international affairs, it continues to follow a policy of independence and non-alignment. This is the only road of historical significance accepted by the people of all nationalities in Yugoslavia.

This policy, he said, not only guarantees the independence and all-round development of Yugoslavia but also ensures the unity of the big family of Yugoslavia. It has become the inalienable wealth of the working class and all other laboring people in Yugoslavia.

"As long as we follow the road and policy of Tito, we can surely find the correct way to overcome all difficulties," he stressed.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ENDS

OW290821 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, November 29 (XINHUA)--The sixth plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] ended its two-day session yesterday evening after adopting a resolution instructing all deputies of the party in the National Assembly (Sejm) to approve extraordinary measures to deal with the political and economic crisis.

The plenum was presided over by party leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The resolution said, "The Central Committee deems it necessary to equip the government with the authorisation needed to effectively counter destructive actions, which are ruining the country and its economy and threatening the socialist state, law and order and public security."

The party's deputies are duty-bound to move for the immediate initiation of legislation on extraordinary measures to protect citizens and the state, the resolution said.

In his closing speech, W. Jaruzelski called on all party cells and party members to support the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee. Poland needed the militancy and enthusiasm of the party members, he declared.

According to the Polish News Agency PAP, the Polish State Price Commission has announced higher retail prices for alcohol. Beginning December 1, spirits will go up 75 per cent, domestic wine 80 per cent, imported wine 40 per cent and beer 70 per cent.

The Solidarity Union protested against the government decision because it had not been consulted.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa issued a statement calling the government decision a brutal provocation. But he called on Solidarity chapters not to take any action before the union presidium and local chapter leaders meet in Radom on December 3.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS ON KAMPUCHEAN RESISTANCE

OW301853 Beijing XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Bangkok, November 30 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said here this evening that ASEAN was pleased to note that the three Kampuchean resistance forces had declared their intention to forge a coalition to liberate Kampuchea from Vietnam's grip and that ASEAN and all nations with goodwill toward the Kampucheans would continue to support this effort.

He made the statement at a dinner party at the Foreign Correspondents Club of Thailand. He said, "In working toward a comprehensive settlement in Kampuchea, ASEAN cannot go it alone. We will need the steadfast support of all our friends. But the crucial factor is the Kampuchean nationalists themselves." "The future of the Khmer nation is truly in the hands of these nationalists. A liberation struggle will be hard, but to yield by default to the Vietnamese because of a lack of political will would be ineffably tragic for the Khmer posterity," he said.

He pointed out that the trouble spot in Southeast Asia remained to be Kampuchea. "Kampuchea was invaded by Vietnam. The Vietnamese have been supported in their adventurism by a superpower," he said.

The prime minister noted that the occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese represented a threat to the security of Thailand and hence a threat to the security and stability of the rest of Southeast Asia.

He declared that Thailand's intention was to establish Southeast Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from interference from outside and to improve relations with its neighbors. "Thailand recognizes that a strong and cohesive network of close bilateral relations will enhance its own strength and will benefit the cause of peace within the region as well," he said.

CSO: 4000/25

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KIM IL-SONG ADDRESSES CLOSING OF GFTU CONGRESS

OW301847 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 30 Nov 81

[Text] Pyongyang, November 30 (XINHUA)--President Kim Il-song today called on the workers of the country to raise their class consciousness and scientific and technological level so as to fulfill their tasks assigned by the party and the times.

Speaking at the closing meeting of the Sixth Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea today, President Kim Il-song said that since young workers who have not experienced the ordeals of the revolution are becoming the main force of the working class contingents, efforts should be made to "enhance the class and revolutionary consciousness of the workers." Otherwise, it is impossible for them either to carry on the revolution or to safeguard the gains of the revolution, he said.

The workers should "resolutely adhere to their class stand and revolutionary principles," he went on. They should also keep vigilance against the "ideological and cultural infiltration of the imperialists and their subversive attempts and sabotage."

President Kim Il-song asked the workers to take good care of their machines, workshops and factories, to combat the careless handling and waste of the state property.

He called on the Korean workers to eradicate individualism and selfishness, love the collective and work hard in the interests of the party and the revolution.

He also asked the workers to acquire literacy and learn science and technology.

"Without the knowledge of modern science and technology, it is impossible to develop production quickly and advance the technical revolution vigorously," he said. Therefore, the working class and trade union members should take study as a revolutionary task of major importance.

He called on the workers to establish cultured ways of life and work, get rid of the old habits of life and "live in a healthy manner based on a high level of cultural attainments and noble moral qualities."

Finally, President Kim Il-song called on the Korean working class to struggle for the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

The Sixth Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea was opened on November 27. Other party and government leaders also attended the congress.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SPANISH CP ANTI-NATO RALLY--Madrid, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--A grand rally against Spain's plans to join NATO was held in the university town here today. The rally, entitled "For Peace, Disarmament and Freedom" and organized by the Spanish Social Worker's Party, the largest opposition of the country, was reportedly attended by 500,000 people holding banners and posters. The Spanish Communist Party and a number of other mass organizations supported the protest and President Dolores Ibaruri and general secretary Santiago Carrillo of the Communist Party were present at the rally. The general secretary of the Social Workers' Party, Felipe Gonzalez Marques, told the huge crowd: "We want total disarmament and the dissolution of (military) blocs", and "we want neither conventional nor atomic wars--nor neutron bombs". The rally was held on the eve of the opening of Senate debate on Spain's NATO membership. The congress of deputies approved the related government plan by an overwhelming majority on October 29. [Text] [OW160828 Beijing XINHUA in English 0816 GMT 16 Nov 81]

VOLLEYBALL TEAM TO INDIA--Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--A 17-member men's volleyball team of Shanghai will leave here on Wednesday for India for a friendship visit, on the invitation of the Volleyball Federation of India, the Chinese Volleyball Association announced here today. The team including 12 players and two coaches is led by Zhu Yong, vice-president of the Shanghai branch of the All-China Sports Federation. The team will visit Calcutta, Bangalore, Bhilai and some other Indian cities. [Text] [OW231227 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 23 Nov 81]

JARUZELSKI MEETS WARSAW PACT COMMANDER--Warsaw, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, who is concurrently chairman of the Council of Ministers and defence minister, held talks here today with visiting Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander, and General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff, of the Warsaw Pact on the joint action of the unified armed forces. They discussed the joint action of the united armed forces and in particular the "training and combat readiness of the Polish People's Army as a solid link in the defence system of the Warsaw Pact countries." Participating in the talks were General Florian Siwicki, chief of general staff, and General Eugeniusz Molczyk, inspector-general in charge of training, of the Polish People's Army. General Afanasiy Shcheglov, representative of the Warsaw Pact to the general headquarters of the Polish People's Army was also present. [Text] [OW250336 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 25 Nov 81]

'BRIGHT STAR' EXERCISE IN SOMALIA--Mogadishu, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--A 9-day military exercise in Berbera, the largest seaport in the northern part of Somalia, ended today. It is part of the joint military exercises code-named "Bright-Star 82" by the United States, Egypt, the Sudan, Oman and Somalia in North-east Africa. This was a logistics operation, including the field medical treatment, communications, road reconstruction and repair. The main purpose of the operation was to examine and get acquainted with the local conditions and exchange experience with the Somali troops. A total of 400 American engineer troops took part in the exercise that took place mainly in the Berbera airport. A number of Somali army leaders including member of the Somali Supreme Revolutionary Council Abdi Warsame, acting Minister of National Defence Omar Haji Mohamed, together with some military attaches of foreign embassies to Somalia watched today's exercise. [Text] [OW240200 Beijing XINHUA in English 0140 GMT 24 Nov 81]

CHEMICAL WEAPON BAN CONFERENCE--Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea in a statement on November 20 announced that the Democratic Kampuchean Government supports the idea to convene an international conference on the prevention of use of chemical weapons so as to forbid Vietnam from using them in Kampuchea, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. The Vietnamese aggressors, the statement said, are now killing the Kampucheans with chemical weapons in an attempt to break down the fighting will of the people and the National Army of Kampuchea. There are mounting evidences to prove that the Vietnamese are using Soviet-supplied chemical weapons in Kampuchea and Laos, it noted. The Soviet Union is also using these weapons in Afghanistan. The international community has demanded that Vietnam and the Soviet Union stop using these weapons. But, regardless of this call, they have carried on their criminal activities in a more unbridled way. As a victim, the statement said, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea backs the U.S. State Department's proposal for an international conference on prohibition of use of chemical weapons and hopes for its early convocation. It also calls on all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries of the world to support this proposal. [Text] [OW230915 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 23 Nov 81]

POLAND ARMY GROUPS--Warsaw, 20 Nov (XINHUA)--The Polish Government has decided to recall its operational groups beginning today from various parts of the country in view of their completion of their first phase of work, reported the Polish news agency PAP yesterday. The groups were also ordered to get prepared for further "tasks that might be given." The decision of the Council of Ministers was announced by the central headquarters of the operational groups. Several hundred operational groups of army officers and soldiers were sent to 2,000 Polish towns and villages by order of the Polish Council of Ministers issued on October 24. In performing their missions, they made investigations into the problems of the various places and suggested solutions to the authorities concerned. They also helped organize the anti-crisis struggle and check illegal activities, waste and mismanagement in the use of agricultural products, building materials, coal and farm machines. Help was also offered in the purchase of agricultural and animal products as part of the fight against profiteering. They even helped send coal to the old and disabled for their winter use. Their work was generally acclaimed. After their recall, the provinces will sum up their work for the Council of Ministers to study so as to make further decisions. [Text] [OW210830 Beijing XINHUA in English 0740 GMT 21 Nov 81]

EGYPTIAN MILITARY NEEDS--Cairo, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The Egyptian armed forces are capable of defending Egypt and all Egypt needs from the United States is "arms and modern equipment" to replace Soviet arms, said Minister of Defence and Military Production 'Abd al-Halim abu Ghazala yesterday. The Egyptian minister made the statement while watching the American-Egyptian joint military exercises. He said the exercises were successful and beneficial to the Egyptian armed forces in the field of planning and training. On Egypt's relations with neighbouring Libya, he said, "We do not have the intention to attack Libya or threaten it." The situation in the Sudan has become much better following Libya's decision to withdraw its forces from Chad, he noted. Ghazala declared: "In case any of the Arab Gulf countries is exposed to any threat, the United States will have to do something to help the country under threat against any foreign invasion. In this case, if the Arab country asks us for help, we shall offer it." [Text] [OW231748 Beijing XINHUA in English 1519 GMT 23 Nov 81]

FAHD PROPOSAL DISCUSSIONS--Kuwait, 22 Nov (XINHUA)--The chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization Yasir 'Arafat during his surprise visit to Riyadh the second in 20 days, met King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and Crown Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, according to SAUDI NEWS AGENCY. On the day before he arrived in Riyadh, the PLO leader, who supports the Saudi Middle East peace plan with "reservations", talked with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad in Damascus the questions they discussed have not been publicly reported, but it is believed they were about the Saudi proposal. On Sunday in Damascus, the Syrian president received a Saudi envoy, Deputy Chief of the National Guards Shaykh Abd al-'Aziz Tuwaygeri who left for the Syrian capital shortly after Yasir 'Arafat's arrival in Riyadh. According to Radio Damascus, the Saudi envoy presented a message from King Khalid to President al-Asad, the third in less than two weeks. Syria and other members of the Arab steadfastness and confrontation front, recently met in Aden for the adoption of a common policy on the Saudi plan. Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam told reporters on Sunday in Fes, Morocco where the Arab foreign ministers had met to prepare an agenda for the summit that "the moment may not yet be ripe" for a full-scale discussion of the Saudi peace plan. [Text] [OW230821 Beijing XINHUA in English 0718 GMT 23 Nov 81]

HUANG HUA'S VISIT TO NIGERIA--Lagos, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--The visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Huang Hua was significant because it was a practical demonstration of his country's genuine intention to really improve its ties with Nigeria, says DAILY TIMES in an editorial here today. The paper adds that Nigeria and China have always supported the struggle for liberation and independence as well as the struggle for a new world economic order. Recently, China demonstrated its identification with the aspiration of the developing countries by vetoing the re-election, for the third time, of Kurt Waldheim as the UN secretary-general, on the ground that a citizen of the Third World should be given an opportunity to head the world body, it notes. It points out that this friendly posture made the attempt to further enhance their relationship with Nigeria, a very commendable venture. This relationship was actually broadened with the establishment of the Sino-Nigeria dialogue, geared toward the exchange of ideas that would pave way for better understanding between the two countries. [Text] [OW231945 Beijing XINHUA in English 1923 GMT 23 Nov 81]

'ARAFAT PRESS DIALOGUE WITH U.S.--Beijing, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, said in an interview published in the BOSTON GLOBE Saturday that he would like to be invited to the United States to open a dialogue with the Reagan administration. 'Arafat, interviewed by the BOSTON GLOBE in Beirut, said the U.S. Government would be wise to try to understand the Palestinian rights question instead of dividing the Mideast into two sides. He added he hopes that the U.S. can "understand more about my situation, my just cause and the cause of my people." 'Arafat said he was happy that former presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter last month called for dialogue with the PLO. He pointed out the main issue in the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian cause. He said the United Nations resolutions might be the basis for working out an agreement that provides for mutual recognition of Israel's rights and the rights of the Palestinians. But, he said, the UN resolution 242 is not acceptable because it treats the Palestinians only as refugees. [Text] [OW231235 Beijing XINHUA in English 1217 GMT 23 Nov 81]

U.S.-MEXICO WEAPONS PROTOCOL--Mexico City, 23 Nov (XINHUA)--Visiting U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig today delivered the U.S. instruments of ratification on the first protocol to the 1967 treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco) to Mexican Foreign Secretary Jorge Castaneda. The first protocol calls for all countries outside the Latin American nuclear-free zone to respect the treaty. Mexico is the depository of the treaty. All nuclear powers outside Latin America--except France--which have colonies or military bases in the region have approved the first protocol. Haig arrived here today for a 24-hour visit. During his visit, Haig and Mexican leaders will discuss issues concerning Central America and the Caribbean. This is the third visit to Mexico by a high-ranking official since the Reagan administration took office last January. President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush visited Mexico earlier this year. Thousands of Mexicans yesterday marched to the U.S. Embassy here to protest against the visit. [Text] [OW241628 Beijing XINHUA in English 1600 GMT 24 Nov 81]

POLISH SIT-IN STRIKE--Warsaw, November 30 (XINHUA)--The Polish Council of Ministers decided today to close down the Warsaw Training School for Fire Brigade Officers as a step to stop the sit-in strike started there on November 25. The decision was made under the 1958 higher education law and as requested by the interior minister, the Polish News Agency PAP reported. The government promised to create conditions for the law-abiding firemen to continue their training. The sit-in strike began on November 25 when some Solidarity members of the teaching staff pressed for their demand to amend the draft higher education law and transfer the paramilitary training school of the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Higher Education. The vice-chairman of the Mazowsze chapter of Solidarity Union and representatives from the Ministry of Interior had talks with the strike committee but no agreement was reached. Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak said that the sit-in was a violation of the August 1980 Gdansk agreements, which rule out strikes by firemen. [Text] [OW010813 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 1 Dec 81]

KOREAN REUNIFICATION--Pyongyang, November 30 (XINHUA)--A large number of people have responded affirmatively to a worldwide signature campaign launched in March this year in support of President Kim Il-song's proposal to establish a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo as a form of the reunification of Korea, and his ten-point government program for the new state, according to a KCNA report today. The report said up to now, the campaign has been held in 97 countries. The undersigned included heads of state and government, government ministers, parliament members, party leaders and responsible members of social organizations. They hold that the program of reunification contained in President Kim Il-song's proposal is a rational one, taking into full consideration of the realities in both the northern and the southern parts of Korea. [Text] [OW300945 Beijing XINHUA in English 0921 GMT 30 Nov 81]

CSO: 4000/25

PARTY AND STATE

YOUTHS URGED TO PARTICIPATE IN CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN in Chinese No 16, 1981 p 2

[Editorial: "Growing Up in Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] During the period when the third plenary session of the 10th Communist Youth League and the second session of the Fifth National Youth Union were triumphantly convened, our party's revolutionaries of the older generation sent abundant words bearing trust, concern, and hope to the young people. The words were sincere and the affection ran deep. Different words expressed a common wish: Young people will grow up healthy and struggle for a new China which will have a high degree of material and spiritual culture. The older generation hopes that young people will inherit and carry on the fine traditions of the party and league, and bravely triumph over the difficulties encountered in the course of advancing. They encourage young people to criticize justly and forcefully some of the erroneous thinking and trends so that healthy tendencies will prevail and triumph over unhealthy ones, and to become vanguards in the struggle against the most undesirable elements in society. Here, the older generation not only has set the tasks for the league organization and the broad masses of youth, but it has also pointed out the way for young people to grow up in a healthy manner. That is, the younger generation must launch criticism and self-criticism, and use this weapon in order to remake society and themselves and in order to enable themselves to grow up even better and faster in an active ideological struggle.

The socialist society in which we live today did not come out of nowhere. It unavoidably carries certain traces of the society of only yesterday. These old traces may manifest themselves to varying degrees in everyone. Socialism is also a brand-new undertaking. Deviation and errors by the people are unavoidable in the course of understanding and practice. What methods should be used to overcome and triumph over the old way of understanding, to resolve the internal contradictions among the people, and to unify ideology? The painful lessons since the founding of the state have warned us that we cannot follow the method of "using class struggle as the guide" or "struggle cruelly and attack ruthlessly," but we should carry on our party's fine traditions and take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. This is the basic method for handling the internal relationships among the people in a socialist society. It is a strong motive force that pushes the continual process in society forward. Precisely as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out recently: "To move the various work projects forward, each front should launch continual criticism and self-criticism, turning criticism and self-criticism into the motive force for modern socialist con-

struction." In frequent and earnest criticism and self-criticism, the generation of youth will deepen their understanding of society and strengthen their sense of responsibility as masters of socialism. It will enhance their ability to distinguish between right and wrong, between good and bad, and it will develop into a workstyle that proceeds from reality to remake society. They can also perfect themselves in remaking society with this workstyle.

We must correct our understanding of criticism. After 10 years of chaos, the term criticism today seems unfamiliar or even scary. This is because it was once used as a stick to hit and regulate people. Today, the stick cannot hit any more and criticism must be launched. We cannot equate criticism with a stick.

We must be daring and competent in launching criticism. It takes bravery to criticize unhealthy tendencies, especially when criticizing the shortcomings and mistakes of leading organs and leaders. It also requires bravery to criticize various other unhealthy tendencies. We must overcome the weak, powerless, and equivocal mentality before unhealthy tendencies, and not be "peacemakers." We also need to be good at criticizing in order to obtain good results. We must learn to assemble facts, reason, seek truth from facts, help those who are criticized, and pay attention to methods of criticism.

We must advocate the spirit of self-criticism. We must recognize squarely that one of the weaknesses of some young people at present is that they lack the spirit of self-criticism. After 10 years of chaos, it is difficult to launch criticism and self-criticism. A piece of uncarved jade is not an implement. Modesty helps one to move forward. This is a historically proven truth. The growth of young people needs not only positive education and guidance but also continuous examination to overcome shortcomings and mistakes. Lacking the spirit of self-criticism will not only obstruct the healthy growth of young people but will also affect the success of the struggle against unhealthy tendencies.

We want young people to grow up in a healthy manner, in criticism and self-criticism!

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CSO: 4005/61

PARTY AND STATE

'PERSONALITY WORSHIP' CALLED EVIL LEFT OVER FROM FEUDALISM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN in Chinese No 16, 1981 pp 8-9

[Article by Liu Yanguang [0491 3601 0342] and Yang Li [2799 0500]: "Does correct Appraisal of Leaders Constitute Personality Worship?"]

[Text] Question: What is personality worship? Is personality worship the same as personality cult?

Answer: Personality worship is a social phenomenon with a long history. In the international communist movement, as well as in our party and social life, personality worship refers to the erroneous tendency of creating a mystique around leading figures and making the role of leaders absolute, with the result that leading figures are placed above the party and people and can only be praised but not criticized or supervised. Personality worship does not refer to the proper respect and admiration for leaders by the masses. "Caring for leaders essentially means caring for the interests of the party, class and people, and does not mean defying individuals." ("Report on the Amendment of the Party Constitution" by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the Eighth Party Congress) Personality worship precisely defies leading figures and treats them as "saviors" who decide everything.

Our party's documents since 1958 have changed the wording of personality worship and used the term "personality cult." "Personality cult" and personality worship essentially refer to the same thing, with no basic difference here. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions Concerning the Party Since the Founding of the State" changed the wording "personality cult" to personality worship, because this is even more accurate and the wording is consistent.

In the international communist movement, Marx was the first to pose the question on the opposition to personality worship. In a letter to William (Bu-luo-si), Marx wrote on 10 November 1877: "Due to the abhorrence of any personality worship, when the Internationale still existed I never permitted the publicizing of the great amount of irritating correspondence from various countries which recognized my contribution. I never answered them except when I occasionally reprimanded them. When Engels and I first participated in the secret communist organization, our condition was: Everything in the constitution that promotes the blind worship of persons in authority should be removed."

Question: The "Resolution" has highly appraised the historical place and role of Comrade Mao Zedong. Is this also personality worship?

Answer: The "Resolution" clearly points out: "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist, and theoretician." Our party's high appraisal of the historical place and role of Comrade Mao Zedong differs in principle from personality worship, the absolute authority established on a grand scale by Lin Biao's group, and the subsequent "two whatevers."

In the first place, this difference is manifested in the former's having embodied Marxist materialism and the latter's being anti-Marxist historical idealism. Marxism believes that history is created by the masses, and at the same time it gives recognition to the major role played by outstanding individuals in history. In the course of the prolonged struggle by our party in leading the people to seize state power and establish the people's republic, in the actions of our state in formulating a socialist system, and especially at historical turning points and critical moments of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong always showed great foresight, knew how to struggle, and dared to triumph, manifesting the foresight and sagacity of Marxism as well as the capacity for leadership in steering through the course of events. Our party's high appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong is based precisely on historical practice and is in accordance with a great deal of true historical facts. Consequently it is reliable, evenhanded, and scientific. In making authority absolute and on a grand scale, Lin Biao's group ignored historical practice and regarded authority as something manmade. Making authority absolute on a grand scale is precisely the method of personality worship.

This difference is also manifested in the former's deriving from public spirit, which embodies the spirit of a deep sense of responsibility for history, the people, and the revolutionary cause. For 55 whole years, from the day our party was founded until the day he died, Comrade Mao Zedong was linked to our party's destiny and to the cause of the people's revolutionary struggle led by the party. In affirming Comrade Mao Zedong's historical achievements, we are actually affirming our party's history and the history of the people's struggle led by the party. The grand scale that Lin Biao's group was engaged in arose from selfishness. In other words, they were boosting others in name but actually themselves; this was linked to their ambition to implement the seizure of the party's power.

This difference is further manifested in the former's affirming the great historical achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong and solemnly and earnestly pointing out the mistakes in his later years, so that there is a clear distinction between achievements and mistakes. The latter does not distinguish clearly between achievements and mistakes, but confuses them very much. In making authority absolute and putting it on a grand scale, Lin Biao was pursuing "every word is truth" and "every word takes the place of 10,000 words." Later, the "two whatevers" pursued the policy of whatever existed in the past cannot be followed and whatever exists from now on can only be indiscriminately copied, thus upholding the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years.

Question: Can a humble class feeling toward revolutionary leaders be considered personality worship?

Answer: This question should be understood in two aspects.

1. A humble class feeling expresses the ardent love for revolutionary leaders. Because different people have different experiences and encounters, in appraising the achievements and mistakes of revolutionary leaders it is usually difficult for people to be entirely free of emotional entanglement. This is not hard to under-

stand. Lenin said: "Without 'human feelings,' it would never have been possible to pursue truth." Many comrades gradually develop a profound, ardent love for revolutionary leaders precisely from the practice of revolutionary struggle and their personal experience of freeing themselves. This feeling compels people to pursue revolutionary truth and strengthen revolutionary faith, and it is very valuable.

2. Nevertheless, feelings cannot replace science. Humble class feelings must be enhanced under the guidance of revolutionary theory so that they are combined with a scientific attitude. If we were to proceed from personal grievances and be swayed by personal feelings when appraising the achievements and mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong, we would be deviating from historical facts consciously and unconsciously. We would not be able to ponder soberly on complicated historical phenomena, and we would lose the ability to make scientific analyses and judgment, thus giving rise to subjectiveness and onesideness in knowledge. Some comrades often regard Comrade Mao Zedong as a savior. Proceeding from a humble and grateful way of thinking, they cannot bear to hear about the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong. This is because they have not freed themselves from biased personal feelings about such a historical giant whose life was a mixture of successes and serious mistakes, and they are not able to use the viewpoint and methods of historical materialism to analyze and make judgments objectively, comprehensively, and scientifically. The "Resolution" can make a scientific appraisal of the life of Comrade Mao Zedong, because it perceives it in terms of history and the situation as a whole, appraises achievement and mistakes, and sums up experiences and lessons from the high level of the law of historical development. When Lenin discussed the difference between Marxism and all other socialist theories, he pointed out that one of its characteristics was "the ability to use a very scientific and sober attitude to analyze objective situations and evolving objective processes."

Question: How can we prevent and overcome personality worship?

Answer: In the rather long years of revolutionary struggle, our party has struggled endlessly against the phenomenon of personality worship. On the eve of the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Mao Zedong explicitly set forth in the summary for the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee: "Prohibit sending birthday congratulations to party leaders; prohibit the use of the names of party leaders to designate places, streets, and enterprises; maintain the workstyle of arduous struggle; and check the phenomenon of singing praises for meritorious services." In his "Report on the Amendment of the Party Constitution" at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee. He also pointed out: "The Party Central Committee has always opposed sending messages of greetings and success to leaders as well as exaggerating the role of leaders in literature and art." "Our task is to continue the resolute implementation of the Central Committee's policy against giving prominence to individuals and singing praises of their virtues and achievements." In [actual] life within the party and society, however, the phenomenon of personality worship has not been uprooted but was adversely extended in the 10-year period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," developing to a very high level. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng even created and accepted personality worship of himself at the same time that he continued to safeguard the old way of personality worship. This clearly shows that personality worship is deep-rooted.

We must understand the cause of personality worship in order correctly and effectively to prevent and overcome it.

The influence of the remnants of feudalism which extensively exist in our society is an important social cause of the deep-rooted phenomenon of personality worship. We must strive to remove the poison of feudalism in order to prevent and overcome personality worship. Our country has a history of over 2,000 years of feudal despotism. In this very long period of feudal society, its rulers made up the heresy of the "divine vestige of monarchial power," creating the mystique that the emperor was the supreme "Son of Heaven," and forcing people to prostrate themselves in worship. Our country's socialism was born in an economically and culturally backward semi-colonial and semifeudal society. The poison of feudalism has penetrated every aspect of social life. Among our revolutionary contingents, the erroneous tendency to regard leading figures as gods who rank above the party and the people and who decide everything is a manifestation of the outworn concept of feudalism. Only by strengthening education in Marxism and historical materialism, replacing superstition with science, and using various highly effective methods to wipe out the influence of the remnants of feudalism can our comrades be able to remove the concept of worshiping and creating a mystique about individuals, as well as the sincere belief and earnest hope in "saviors."

Personality worship is strongly related to an abnormal democratic life within the party and to imperfections in collective leadership and democratic centralism. To prevent and overcome personality worship, we must strengthen the building of the party and resolutely carry out the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism. Many years of experience and lessons have told us that personality worship is inversely proportional to collective leadership and democratic centralism. The more perfect and complete are collective leadership and democratic centralism, the less favorable are the conditions for the growth and existence of personality worship. Otherwise, personality worship would grow unchecked and would be hard to prevent. In the cadre system, the long-extant system of the cadre's lifelong duty of leadership is also related to the growth in personality worship. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has virtually abolished the cadres' lifelong duty of leadership and has gradually expanded democratic elections. This reform is also beneficial to preventing and overcoming the phenomenon of personality worship. The "Resolution" proposes this: "We must establish the Marxist viewpoint that the party must be collectively led by leaders of ability and political integrity who come from the struggle of the masses, and we must prohibit any form of personality worship. We must safeguard the prestige of the party's leading figures and at the same time guarantee that their activities are under the supervision of the party and the people." This is the most valuable revelation from the historical lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and it also [points out] the necessity for proceeding from the status quo of the party so as to strengthen the construction of the party.

9586

CSO: 4005/61

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI /DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM/ in Chinese No 8, 25 Aug 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Pan Nianzhi [3382 1819 0037]: "Discussing Democracy in the Light of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] The "Resolution Regarding Certain Historical Questions of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC" produced by the 6th Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee is a great historical document which sums up our experience and serves to unify us and enable us to advance. Theoretically, and particularly through a comprehensive and accurate elucidation of Mao Zedong Thought, it reaches conclusions regarding a number of factual questions of right and wrong, unifies the ideological understanding of the comrades of the entire party, develops Marxism-Leninism, and is not only a great document of the history of the Chinese revolution, but of the history of the international proletariat revolution as well.

The directives contained in the "Resolution" are extremely important, and should be studied comprehensively and deeply. Here I plan to talk a little on the question of democracy alone, on what I have come to understand through my own study of these directives.

Democracy is a political concept, and a kind of political system. It is also, however, a historical category, and possesses a class nature. Our democracy is socialist democracy, resulting from the working people being the masters of their own destiny, the most extensive democracy in history, a democracy in the very process of developing vigorously and becoming elevated. To speak of the question of socialist democracy, then, is to speak of the problems of development, and of improving the socialist political system.

The "Resolution" points out that: "Gradually setting up a highly democratic socialist political system is one of the fundamental tasks of the socialist revolution." In order to realize this fundamental task, "it is necessary, based on the principle of a system of democratic concentration of power, to step up the establishment of all levels of state organization, which enables the various levels of people's congresses and their standing bodies to become authoritative organs of the people's power and, on the basic level of political power and on the basic level of the life of society gradually to realize a democracy by the people directly. In particular, we must place emphasis on making a great effort to develop, in the various urban and rural enterprises, the democratic management of the affairs of the enterprises by the masses of workers."

Here, the language of the "Resolution" is in complete agreement with the stipulations of our current Constitution. In our current Constitution it is stipulated that "All the powers of the state are subordinate to the people. The organs through which the people exercise the powers of the state are the national people's congresses and the various levels of local people's congresses." It is also stipulated that: "The state upholds the democratic principles of socialism, protects the people's participation in the management of the state, manages the various economic and cultural enterprises, and supervises the organs of state and their working personnel." The substance of this will definitely be included and expanded upon in the new constitution currently in the process of being revised.

There are two concrete measures through which the "Resolution" and the stipulations of the Constitution propose to realize a democratic socialist political system: The first is, in the organs of state power, causing the various levels of people's congresses and their standing bodies to become authoritative organs of the people's power; the second is, on the basic level of the life of society, gradually to effect a democracy by the people directly, enabling the people of the cities and the countryside to manage the work of their enterprises and units directly.

Our party, ever since the establishment of the liberated zones, has relied on the broad masses to establish political power, and in the course of building political power has all along placed importance on people's congresses and the system of people's congresses. In particular, after our first constitution was promulgated in 1954, people's congresses were universally set up from the national level down to the local areas, bringing their important effect into full play. But, ever since the end of the fifties, the autocratic methods which accompanied the atmosphere of the worship of individuals gradually weakened the democratic spirit. By the period of the 10 years of turmoil, the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing had usurped that portion of power which belongs to the state, publicly smothered democracy, and in a completely unscrupulous manner practiced fascism, so that the system of people's congresses existed in name only. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular following the 3d Plenum of the Party's 11th Central Committee, order was brought out of chaos, and democracy was restored, as were the people's congresses. At the second session of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1979, the organizational and electoral laws pertaining to the various levels of local people's congresses were revised and newly promulgated. The formation of people's congresses at the county level and below was changed so they could be chosen directly by the electorate, and a system of plurality vote was put into effect; people's committees at the province and county level set up standing committees, and the democratic substance of local political power is in the process of being enlarged. The temporary regulations governing the staff and workers' congresses of state-managed industrial enterprises have recently been promulgated by the State Council, and scientific research, education, and defense enterprises and units will be managed according to the same rules. The force of the masses in becoming masters of their own fate is in the welling up, and developing, in every area. However, this development is generally gradual, and continually progressing. Today our country's system of people's congresses has already advanced a step, but it must continue to advance, and continue to develop, so as to enable it to reach the point where the people truly wield the power to manage the state, and the democratic life of society is enlarged in every area.

Regarding the question of augmenting the authority of the people's congresses, at today's discussion on the constitutional revision, a good many comrades have come up with suggestions. If we improve the criteria for, and the method of selecting representatives, reduce their number, extend the period of the conferences, and change standing committee memberships at the various levels to permanent positions, with the various working organizations set up under the standing committees, then the people's committees will be better able to exercise their authority. Also, if we enlarge the people's congresses and their powers of representation, ensure the implementation of the congresses' decisions, protect the Constitution and the law, and the authority of government decrees, and increase the supervision and prosecution of cases of violations of the constitution and the law, then we will guarantee that the people's congresses will truly become organs of power. These ideas are all very good, and I hope that on the occasion of the revision of the Constitution they will be given due consideration and adoption.

If we want to develop and improve democracy, then the systematization and legalization of democracy are very important; however, this kind of legal system must also have its stability, and authority, to guarantee its true enactment. Otherwise, the law would become nothing more than idle theory, which would be worthless.

In order to guarantee the realization of a democratic system, it is also necessary to heighten the democratic thinking and democratic practices of the working personnel of the various levels of organization, particularly cadres. Collective leadership, and a system of democratic concentration of power have been our party's excellent democratic traditions for a long time, and even during wartime our people's army also practiced the three great political, economic, and military) democracies, did a good job of relations between officers and men, between the army and the people, and among the various armies. Within the party and the government, democratic life is emphasized even more, and the worship of individuals, and autocratic leaders, opposed. In 1957 Comrade Mao Zedong in bringing up the correct distinction and in dealing with the two kinds of contradiction in society, made the correct handling of the contradiction among the people the main theme of political life of the state. Continuing, he emphasized that we must "create politics that has both concentration of power and is democratic; that has both discipline and freedom; that has both unity of purpose and individual happiness, and that is vital, and lively." He painted a picture of an ideal democratic society. Unfortunately, however, this kind of democratic life was completely destroyed during the 10 years of turmoil. The Third Plenum of the Party's Central Committee conscientiously discussed the question of democracy and the legal system of democratic concentration of power has not been properly put into effect, we have departed from democracy in favor of a further concentration of power, and there has been too little democracy. Now during this period there is a particular need for emphasis on democracy, and on the dialectical relationship between democracy and the concentration of power, causing the effectiveness of the party's unified leadership and the various productive organizations to be established on the basis of the mass line." After the Third Plenum, inner-party democracy and the ideology of people's democracy were elevated, and democratic life began to embark upon the correct path.

However, our country's historical period of feudal rule was particularly long, and the residual poison of feudal thinking has been particularly deep, so that the system and ideology of democracy could not, when once established, develop successfully without opposition. Moreover, the autocratic, patriarchal system of leadership possesses a fascination to some of those seriously infected with individualism. Many people theoretically know very well that a patriarchal system is undesirable, yet when they themselves gain some authority, they become fascinated with individual power. With power concentrated in their own hands, everything becomes a matter of individual authority; in other words, they speak democracy, but practice autocracy; from others they demand democracy, while they practice concentration of power. These autocratic and overbearing ways still exist to a rather serious degree at the grassroots level, and particularly in the countryside. The system of integration of government administration and commune management in people's communes in the countryside, with its lack of distinction among party, government, and commune, causes all the leadership in administrative work, productive life, and other public matters to be concentrated in the hands of a minority. The planning of facilities and managerial work also becomes excessively centralized, with everything subsumed to death under a single authority. This actually gives rise to autocratic ways among leaders, thus harming the democratic life of the people. Today we must set about considering how to change this system and, since we want to keep the work of the party and the government separate from matters pertaining to the productive life, we must allow the masses to participate more in this kind of work, and have the right to be concerned with matters directly concerning their own welfare. Systems of people's congresses like those of the staff and workers' congresses of state-managed industrial enterprises can also be put into effect in other production and subsistence organizations in the cities and countryside. After setting up the various kinds of democratic systems, and also putting into effect a strict supervision by the masses, bureaucratism and bossism will be overcome, enabling democratic thinking and democratic practices to develop gradually.

Neither individualism nor domination is in accord with the requirements and traditional ways of the party. The party's guiding purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, the mass line, the methods of criticism and self-criticism, and the policies of letting the hundred flowers bloom and the hundred schools of thought contend are all connected with the ideology and practices of democracy, and are an important basis on which to promote the system of democracy. The fact that we must promote, and realize democracy is something that the party continuously gives guidance in, and requires of all party members. Over the last 60 years, our party has changed from being an underground party to being the party in power, from a party having only a few dozen members to a party having 39 million members, from a party having revolutionary war as its main task to a party having the building of socialism as its main task. What a great development and change there has been! Added to this is the fact that since the foundation of our state, the basis of the social economy, class structures, and the main contradictions and tasks, have gone through a great many changes, and the breadth and depth of inner-party democracy and people's democracy have also changed considerably. It is precisely due to the fact that the enterprise of our party is advancing on a daily basis that today we are all the more required to raise the question of democracy to the level of principle, and that all party members and the masses are requested to strive together to realize a high level of democracy.

Under the influence of the instruction and enlightenment obtained from the "Resolution," I felt that our socialist democracy had already had a very great development, but that it must have a still greater development. Developing socialist democracy to a high degree is required for the unification of 1 billion people, the mobilization of everyone's enthusiasm, and the concentration of everyone's wisdom and strength in order to build the great enterprise of socialism, and is also their most important guarantee. We must follow the instructions contained in the "Resolution," perfect our democratic system, heighten democratic thinking and practices, and make a great effort to build a highly democratic and highly civilized strong socialist nation!

9634

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PARTY AND STATE

VETERAN CADRES URGED TO TRAIN YOUNG, TALENTED SUCCESSORS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 81 p 5

[Article: "The Primary Task for Veteran Cadres"]

[Text] The leading comrades on the Central Committee have recently reemphasized the importance and urgency of selecting young and middle-aged [persons with] outstanding talent to join the various levels of leading bodies. They hope that all veteran cadres above age 60 will treat the selection and training of young and middle-aged cadres as their "primary task."

At present, our party and state are in the important historical period of bringing order out of chaos, advancing the revolutionary cause, and forging ahead. The tasks confronting us are arduous. At this time, why is there the emphasis on veteran cadres' having to treat the selection and training of young and middle-aged cadres as the "primary task?" This deserves some earnest consideration by every veteran cadre.

The question of selecting and training young and middle-aged cadres has long been raised by our party. To be sure, in recent years various levels of leading bodies have done a good amount of work selecting and training outstanding young and middle-aged cadres. From the Central Committee down to the local levels, and even in the units of enterprises and institutions, some young and middle-aged cadres who adhere to the party line, are in the prime of life, and have cultural and professional knowledge have been selected and strengthened, so that all levels of leading bodies have taken a step forward in revolutionization, rejuvenation, mastering of knowledge, and specialization. All departments and units which have done well in this regard have obtained tangible results in their work and production. However, it should also be recognized that the circumstances of leading bodies are still considerably out of keeping with the demands of the revolutionary cause and the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. A notable problem of these leading bodies is the lack of young and middle-aged cadres with a relatively high level of cultural knowledge and professional skill. Practice has clearly shown that if all levels of leading bodies do not have a large group of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres who are spirited and well-trained, it will be difficult for them to shoulder the increasingly arduous tasks or to resolve the new problems continually posed by the construction of the four modernizations. This situation has caused veteran cadres of our party to feel deeply that the immediate tasks are numerous and burdensome, but that the urgency of the present task is to select and train young and middle-aged cadres.

Now there is a serious temporary shortage at all levels of the leading bodies. The leading cadres of the Central Committee and state organs and the first levels in the provinces and municipalities are mostly in the "three-eight" form; their ages are mostly above 60, and quite a few veteran cadres have passed the age of 70. These veteran cadres, who have been tempered through prolonged revolutionary struggle, are the very valuable wealth of our party and state. They made important contributions during the smoke-filled war years as well as during the period of socialist constructions. Today, in the course of modern construction, they still spare no effort and they work hard day and night, playing an important leading role on every front. This revolutionary spirit on the part of veteran cadres has naturally created profound respect among the people. However, we cannot deny that the majority of veteran cadres after all are coming along in age and their vigor has declined. To complete the arduous tasks in the construction of the four modernizations, successors are urgently needed. At present, veteran cadres can choose between two kinds of policies. One is to have a firm grasp from now on in resolving the temporary shortage of cadres, to select and train young and middle-aged cadres by the tens of thousands, and to transfer those cadres who have both ability and political integrity speedily, in order to strengthen all levels of leading posts. The other choice is to continue to neglect the temporary shortage of cadres, not to adopt resolute and effective measures, and to allow this situation to be prolonged. That way, after not too many years when large numbers of veteran cadres have to retire, there will be no successors to carry on their work, and it will be necessary to rush and move up an unsuitable choice of people. That [way] is extremely unfavorable to the revolutionary cause. Our party has already learned some lessons in this regard. Precisely because of this, the leading cadres of the Central Committee have emphasized that veteran cadres should treat the training and selecting of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres as the "primary task." This strategic undertaking proposed by the leading cadres of the Central Committee is also the wish of large numbers of veteran cadres. Many veteran cadres have already recognized that they would be committing an unforgivable historical error if they did not intensify the training of young successors. They have increased the urgency of solving this problem and have given priority to the selection and training of young and middle-aged cadres.

To select and train young and middle-aged cadres, we must dare to put them in major leading posts so that they can fully temper themselves on the first line. This is an important experience from the practice of many veteran cadres. Some veteran cadres had thought that they were still in good physical shape and could sustain 8 hours of work. Consequently they were unwilling or did not plan to step back from the first line. However, following the increase in their age they felt more and more that natural laws could not be resisted. Up to a certain age it was possible to sustain 8 hours of work for 1 or 2 and even 3 or 4 weeks, but for a longer period of time their vigor was insufficient. In time it would affect not only their work but also their health. At present, the honorable duty of veteran cadres should be to serve as a link between the past and the future, to advance the revolutionary cause, and to forge ahead. It is not absolutely necessary to have actual jobs on the first line in order to play a role. Stepping back and working as advisers and counselors on the second line, passing on experience to young and middle-aged cadres, can equally play an important role. On their own initiative, several proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation on the Party Central Committee who enjoy high prestige and universal respect have given importance to the cause of the party and state by allowing younger comrades to undertake the major work of leadership. They themselves take up the second line, give ideas, make suggestions, and take

part in policymaking, playing a supplementary role. Many veteran comrades believe that these proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have set an example for them, and they are determined to learn from them.

Some veteran cadres were worried that "young and middle-aged cadres lack experience," so they felt uneasy about letting these cadres take over their work. This "uneasiness" was not entirely without cause, and sometimes this is precisely an indication of responsibility toward the cause of the party and the people. However, they later recognized: Is experience not built from practice? In those [earlier] years many veteran cadres shouldered the important work of leadership when they were 20 or 30. Today, young and middle-aged cadres have even more strong points. Not only do they have a youthful spirit and are they full of vim and vigor, but they also have the professional knowledge needed for the construction of the four modernizations. Boldly selecting and putting them in various levels of leading posts will mean that arduous and complicated work will be more competently performed.

There is continuity when there is supersession of personnel. The building of socialism and the march toward communism is not a matter for one or two generations but is an undertaking throughout the ages. The cause of revolution needs successors from generation to generation. After laying the solid foundation for the high rise of socialism, if our veteran cadres can in their later years select and train a large number of outstanding successors for the revolutionary cause, they will be making an ineffaceable historical contribution to the party and for the people!

9586

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PERSISTENCE OF '10 SIGHTS DISEASE' DISCUSSED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8, 25 Aug 81 p 20

[Article by Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598]: "Thoughts Evoked by the 10-Sights Disease""]

[Text] Lu Xun wrote 56 years ago: "Many of us in China...have a sort of '10-sights disease' or at least an '8-sights disease,' which had been of a most critical nature in the Qing Dynasty, I should say. Look through any county annals, and you will find the district has 10 sights, if not 8, such as 'Moonlight on a Distant Village,' 'Quiet Monastery and Clear Bell,' 'Ancient Pool and Crystal Water.' Moreover, this '+' shaped germ [the Chinese character for 10 is '+' + ''] seems to have gotten into the blood and spread throughout the body, no less virulent than the '!' shaped germs [much overused mark in contemporary poetry] which herald a country's decline. There are 10 sorts of sweetmeats, 10 different dishes, 10 movements in music, 10 courts for the king of hell, 10 cures in medicine, 10 guesses for the drinking game, even announcements of evil deeds and crimes usually list 10 items, as if no one would stop at 9. Now 1 of the 10 sights of West Lake is missing." ("More Thoughts on the Collapse of Leifeng Pagoda")

Reading up to here, I could not help laughing. What made me laugh? Because all the treatment by the good doctor, Lu Xun, had not been able to stamp out the "+" shaped germs; after half a century the "10-sights disease" has spread wide and is getting the upper hand.

When there is a happy event among relatives or friends, people in Shanghai send at least 10 yuan as a gift (some say it must now be 20 yuan); it has to be a round figure to look proper. To send 9 yuan would not do. For one, nine is an odd number and odd numbers, as "solitary forms," insinuate extreme loneliness, and are therefore not propitious. And for another, nine cannot make up the "full hand" of the drinking game, it is not a round figure, therefore, no good. As to economic planning, one also now strives for "bigness" and "completeness." "Complete" means a round figure and round figures start with 10, not with 1. That is the origin of the "10-sights disease" in industrial construction.

In the "10-sights disease" we also discovered a common failing of many Chinese--their casual attitude where figures are concerned. If there are, objectively, not 10 sights in a county, but people insist adamantly on making up a round figure; this displays a casual attitude toward figures. Since subjective desire demands the make

up of 10 items by hook or by crook, there are then "foolish old men" or "busybodies of sorts" who will use barehanded methods to build something out of nothing, or use methods that are disastrous for the lifeblood of the nation to build pavilions, terraces and viewing towers and then invite poets and refined scholars to write inscriptions and verses on them to crown the work. Mathematics is the calculation of objective things formed into abstract concepts in the human brain (for instance, there truly are 10 sights in Yangzhou, objectively no more and no less: no blame attaches to stating it thus. What Lu Xun attacked was the sick failing of insisting on making up 10 sights, with the emphasis on the word "sick"). People who are casual about figures are not concerned about counting objective things, but rely on the conjectures of their brains. They give out slogans and do not care earnestly to implement them. As a consequence money and manpower is wasted and the country's assets are "thrown into the eastward flowing streams," leaving behind only the pavilions, terraces and viewing towers, crumbling walls and dilapidated houses. They are of no use to the national economy or the people's livelihood, merely giving future generations a chance to wring their wrists in despair, think of the past while looking at old historical relics and sighing in sorrow at their ancestors' "10-sights disease," which will cause unlimited harm for generations to come.

The slogans that are propagated must of course be earnestly implemented. What we are opposing is the kind of "earnestness" that is linked with the casual attitude toward figures. For instance, the reserves of natural gas in Sichuan Province should be an objective figure arrived at by careful prospecting. People who are affected by the "10-sights disease" figure it out in their imagination behind closed doors and are not satisfied unless their imagined figure can be made up into 10 times the real amount. In the end everybody busied himself in earnest service to the "10-sights disease," with the result that large sums of money were uselessly wasted and everything ended up in smoke, leaving merely a deep ditch on the surface of the earth where the oil pipes were meant to have been laid. This kind of "earnestness" is actually a mixture of blindness and exaggerative madness. Thinking far back to the days when Lin Biao loudly proclaimed: "The highest instructions must be carried out before another night has passed," the people, one may say, carried out the instructions most earnestly. The new highest instructions were generally published at 8 o'clock in the evening, so that during that night no one in town was to sleep. There was a stifling din of gongs and drums and reports of successes were claimed throughout the night, while all walls were plastered full with Red slogans. All this because if work were continued into the following day, it would mean a great "rebate" on one's loyalty to the highest instruction. This kind of "earnestness" is benighted blindness and in addition a great display of madness and modern mistaken faith.

Furthermore, there is a phrase "1 day is equal to 20 years." This phrase was originally used as an adjectival phrase by Marx when he expressed admiration for the transformation of the character of social change brought about by the revolution of the masses. Adjectives may sometimes permit exaggerated expression, somewhat in the sense that Li Bai's "3,000-foot long, white hair" still does not impair the quality of his poem. However, in the hands of certain people exaggerated figures are claimed to be true facts, as when they claim the high speed of development, high norms of accomplishment and the capability to achieve communism in less than 3 years. The result was that the working people were brought to a state of utter exhaustion, the proneness to boasting and exaggeration spread like wildfire, the proper ratio between the various fields of economic construction became seriously dislocated, made progress impossible and on the contrary led to large-scale retrogression.

The Ah () spirit that Lu Xun discovered in the national character of the Chinese people was a great discovery, but his second great discovery, namely that many Chinese suffer from the "10-sight disease" is little known. In actual fact, however, this discovery certainly does not rank below his first discovery in profound and far-reaching significance. If his second discovery receives general attention, then not only could I spend less of my money on gifts, but, more importantly, the country could reduce its losses in planning its economic construction, losses that have been running in the billions.

In Lu Xun's original article there is the phrase: "...most critical in the Qing Dynasty, I should say." Now one might as well add: "...and rising to even more serious stages in the 2 years, 42 and 43 years after Lu Xun's death, I should say." Here one should use "serious," rather than "critical," to be "earnest" in a sense. I also want to add a little supplementary research: The origin of the "10-sights disease" lies in the decimal system. About 2,000 BC, ancient Egypt and Greece initiated the use of the decimal system. This was a leap in the evolution of mathematics. Mankind had boundless admiration and respect for the number 10, and the discovery of the decimal system--since man's fingers and toes are 10 each--enlightened mankind. We may therefore say, the "10 sights" became a disease when man's intelligence was still stagnating at the stage of the decimal system and had not advanced with the advances of mathematics. It is a good thing that our country is now about to enter the age of electronic computers (which do not use the decimal system). I think only with the advent of this stage will the deeprooted "10-sights disease" probably be completely eliminated!

9808

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE URGES EQUALITY IN ORDER OF LISTING NAMES

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8, 25
Aug 81 p 21

[Article by Bai Hui [4101 1979]: "Some Remarks on the Order of Listing Names"]

[Text] We frequently see lists of names in the newspapers. When they report on attendances at meetings, or on people being sent off or welcomed back, there are always lists of names, and there have always been two kinds, "small name lists" and "big name lists"; the former listing only several or at most only a little over 10 names and the latter from several tens to several hundreds. Every name list naturally poses the problem of how to order the names. The question of who is to come first and who later often cudgels one's brain for fear of doing it the wrong way or not equitably and thereby causing unnecessary trouble. There were times, for instance during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when the way names were arranged in the newspapers, or whether a certain person's well-known name appeared, was eventually taken by some people as a signal for conjecture as to the direction of the political trend. One can even say that this common practice has not completely changed to this day.

I am not quite clear how our forefathers dealt with this problem. From watching historical dramas on stage, I have long understood that there was an extremely strict order in past history regarding emperors, generals and ministers; no arbitrariness at all was permitted. The emperor had to sit facing south and definitely in the middle. The civil and military ministers were arrayed at both sides in a rigid pattern with the civil officials on the left and the military officials on the right of the emperor. I have never seen a military officer stand on the left of the emperor. Although our revolutionary contingents, led by the Communist Party, were tightly organized as an army during the years of the revolutionary wars, there was no difference between officers and men, all were one entity. This gave one everywhere a feeling of equality and friendly affection, as between comrades. It was no doubt a great progress, a kind of excellent revolutionary tradition.

Of course, any time there is a list of two or more persons, you have to establish some kind of order, much the same as at meetings some sit on the rostrum, others in front of the rostrum, or in the theater where there are front rows and back rows. After all, to have everybody, Li, Zhang and whoever, treated the same way will not be possible. Then how is this problem to be handled? The most common

methods now used are, one, to list the names according to the rank of office. Another way is to list according to social status, fame or qualifications. When encountering real difficulties, there is still another method frequently employed to solve the problem, that is, to list according to stroke count in the characters of the surnames, starting with the lowest number of strokes. Probably no one has yet the character "yi" [one stroke] as a surname, therefore those with the surname "ding" [two strokes] will most frequently be first in line. There seems to be some relevance as to who is listed first and who is listed later, and some people give it much attention. It is no surprise therefore that some people start to fuss about this business.

In actual fact, however, the interest attached to this matter is not in good taste. To haggle and quibble about the name order and vie with one another for top place and fear to be listed late does not conform with the character traits expected in a communist or revolutionary cadre. In our great revolutionary family mutual relationships are all on an equal footing, even though positions are different and there are differences due to the division of labor. A large number of our revolutionary predecessors have given us good examples in this respect. We know, when Comrade Zhou Enlai was photographed with the attendants at the Hall of the People's Congress, he modestly stood at one side. His reason was simply that a true communist must believe: No matter what high position one may occupy, in our socialist country one can only appear among the masses as an ordinary worker. Showing bureaucratic conceit and displaying power and prestige are actually low-class tastes. On the contrary, it is only an appearance as an ordinary worker that shows a noble bent of character.

Recently, I looked by chance at a program which had a long list of actors at the top. That is nothing peculiar, but what is peculiar is that at the end it explained in brackets: "Listed in the order of age." The older the person, the earlier he was listed. I don't know whether this is a pioneering arrangement, but in any case it strikes one as something new. If the arrangement is by age and the older ones are listed first, it not only nurtures a general mood in society of respect for elders, but also manifests comradely equal relations between one another. One may add the thought that the young of today will be the elders of tomorrow. This may after all be accepted as a comparatively sensible and equitable method. I am all for promoting it, but of course do not mean to say that it is to be adopted in all cases.

From the order of name lists let me broaden the topic and give thought to the fact that in our present construction of a socialist spiritual culture we should display this equality of relationships between comrades in all situations. The key to establishing truly equal relationships between all comrades is a sense of equality, and in order to firmly establish the sense of equality of all men in our minds, we must first of all direct our efforts to the eradication of the feudal ideology of attaching importance to ranks. We have to admit that the vestiges of this feudal ideology are deeply embedded in this country. In the past, during the war years, we overcame much of it, but still there were some manifestations of it. After victory, this mentality was again gaining strength and later grew to formidable dimensions. Whether at meetings, walking on the street or even entering and leaving public places, all had to proceed strictly according to fixed positions; it was really like "advancing and retiring in good order," as the saying is.

We are not making excessive demands for an absolute egalitarianism which it is impossible to achieve. To distinguish responsibilities of office, to show that certain persons are members of certain organizations, the arrangement of names must of course follow a certain order. The question is only how we regard this order and whether it has to be carried over into all aspects of society. Now things have improved. At the recent Sixth Plenary Session we saw the leading figures of the central authority join the meeting without any fixed order at all, which gave one a feeling of extreme cordiality and naturalness. It was a precedent that deserves to be emulated in our efforts to restore good traditions and assert equality.

9808

CSO: 4005/221

PARTY AND STATE

CHANGLI COUNTY IN HEBEI REVERSES PAST IMPROPER VERDICTS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Ma Ruixiang [7456 3843 5046], Zheng Yinlin [6774 5593 2651] and Wang Yulu [3769 5940 6922]: "Changli County Reverses Verdicts Involving Miscarriages of Justice, Trumped-Up Cases and Erroneous Decisions"]

[Text] The CCP Changli County Party Committee has conscientiously implemented the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, resolutely and completely reversed verdicts on miscarriages of justice, trumped-up cases and erroneous decisions, promoted stability and unity, and accelerated the development of industrial and agricultural production.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Changli County was the county in the Tangshan area which suffered the most harm from the leftist influences. There was a total of 1,834 verdicts involving miscarriages of justice, trumped-up cases and erroneous decisions, and 467 people died of unusual causes. In the course of implementing the party's policies in an all-round way, various obstructions have emerged because of the deep-rooted leftist influence. There were those who were fearful of becoming "pancakes" in the future by again committing the error of being rightist, so they did not dare to solve problems boldly. There were others who were swayed by emotions instead of adhering to the party's policies, so they kept picking on comrades who had been against them. Still others had participated in fabricating unjust, wrong and false charges, and as a result, they were opposed to the implementation of the party's policies. In view of these problems, the county party committee first adopted disciplinary measures to give those who made mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" and failed to investigate or correct themselves appropriate punishment or transfer them from leading positions to other posts. On this basis, cadres of the county party committee organizations repeatedly studied the relevant documents of the party Central Committee in order to enhance their political understanding. They closely investigated some important cases in the county, especially such typical cases as executions by misjudgment, erroneous verdicts and deaths resulting from persecution. They carried out discussions for the purpose of eradicating the leftist influence so that the cadres could understand that in order to adhere to the line adopted by the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, it must be reflected in practice. We must have sympathy for comrades who suffered persecution, take matters into account in a realistic and practical way by putting ourselves in the other's position, and conscientiously implement the party's policies.

One of the most important cases in the whole county was the case of a "gang of hooligans" of a school for deaf-mutes on which the verdict was pronounced in 1976; of the 11 persons involved, seven were arrested and the death of one was caused. The county party committee organizations concentrated their efforts to investigate the case. Over a period of more than 2 months, members of the standing committee in charge of implementing the party's policies and comrades in responsible positions in public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts personally reviewed the essential data of the original case; they finally discovered facts which proved that the case had been trumped up. They immediately convened a countywide conference and completely reversed the original verdict.

As the process of redressing the miscarriages of justice, trumped-up cases and erroneous decisions deepened, the letters sent in by the masses and the complaints made in person greatly increased. Every day, people who had suffered in the past came to the party county committee to appeal to the leading cadres. The leading cadres always received them with patience and enthusiasm. After a while, the county party committee changed the practice of merely sitting back and waiting for the victims to come to appeal. Organizations charged with implementing the party's policies were reinforced so they could reexamine and settle appeals case by case and also take the initiative in reexamining and settling those cases not appealed but obviously wrong, thereby accelerating the pace of implementing the party's policies. While both quality and quantity were emphasized in settling issues of the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," many unjust verdicts made prior to the "Cultural Revolution" were also reversed in accordance with the principles of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes when discovered. In so doing, various questions left over by history were settled. In particular, there was a conscientious reexamination of cases which were alleged to be contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, cases of expulsion from the party or discharge from public employment, or cases in which the principal basis for determining the nature of the case was found to be unreliable or in which the cases themselves were not attended to by anybody for a long time.

Last year, the Changli County party committee realistically analyzed the situation in our county and reached the conclusion that even though the work of carrying out the nationwide large-scale redress of unjust verdicts and implementing the party's policy toward cadres had basically been completed, nevertheless, as far as Changli County itself was concerned, a number of left over issues still remained unsettled and a lot of follow-up work was still required of us in order to implement the party's policies. Therefore, instead of calling off the battle, efforts were strengthened to settle certain knotty questions left over by history. Some dead avenues which formerly prevented the party's policies from being carried out because of the absence of appeals as a result of resignation, retirement, transfer or death of the parties concerned were also conscientiously settled.

During the process of redressing the unjust verdicts and implementing the party's policy toward cadres, the Changli County party committee, by adhering to the principles of concentrating on major issues and ignoring minor ones, educating instead of punishing whenever possible, and persisting in uniting with the great majority, conscientiously did a good job in ideological work and got rid of the ideological obstacle, thus promoting stability and unity. In 1974, during the process of handling the case of the "gang of hooligans" of the school for deaf-mutes, prosecutor Ma Wenxuan [7456 2429 5503] of the procuratorate, in order to obtain a forced confession tortured Liang Yingyi [2733 5821 0001], who was in charge of the school. For this reason, Liang had a lot of complaints about Ma. However, with the help of leading cadres,

Ma Wenxuan thoroughly examined his own mistakes and on his own initiative apologized to Liang. He affirmed that he must draw the appropriate lessons and would definitely not commit similar mistakes again. Liang Yingyi also affirmed that he wanted to take the overall interests into account, to look forward, and not to go over the old scars any longer but to work vigorously to implement the four modernizations. At present, both of them are doing their work very well. Not long ago, higher authorities came to our county to check and verify the results of our work. They reached the conclusion that the work we have done in redressing the unjust verdicts and implementing the party's policy toward cadres is basically up to standard. Along with the removal of the ideological obstacles and the eradication of a long-standing feud, an encouraging situation of rallying together from top to bottom to make joint efforts to implement the four modernizations has emerged in our province.

9560

CSO: 4005/144

PARTY AND STATE

RESTORATION OF PARTY'S TRADITION OF SELF-CRITICISM URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological commentary by Chi Mu [6375 2606]: "We Must Have Courage for Self-Criticism"]

[Text] In the history of our party, there is a very fine code of conduct or an excellent tradition which allows people to commit and correct mistakes. All comrades who have committed mistakes are urged to conscientiously criticize themselves. Only in this way can they acknowledge and correct their mistakes and make greater progress in the future. Today, however, it does not seem to be very easy for us to carry out criticism, and it seems even harder for us to develop self-criticism. Although some comrades, affected and influenced by erroneous trends of thought, have deliberately and repeatedly said wrong things, made many mistakes, and published a series of articles and works which are harmful to the cause of the party and socialism and are inconsistent with the four basic principles, they have never felt guilty or intended to criticize themselves for such mistakes. Even worse is the fact that, instead of admitting and correcting these mistakes, they have been looking for a variety of reasons and excuses to reject the help extended by others in the form of criticism. Their aim is to make themselves look like "heroes" capable of upholding mistaken beliefs. This fact tells us that at present, we are required to develop not only criticism but also a conscientious form of self-criticism. This is why I want to emphasize in this article the topic of self-criticism in connection with the development of criticism, so that efforts can be made by the people to foster an atmosphere in favor of self-criticism.

Today, objective factors notwithstanding, two principal "fears" that still exist in the minds of some comrades have prevented them from launching self-criticism. What do they fear, anyway? First, they fear that self-criticism may give their adversaries an opportunity to frame charges against them and to launch attacks and wield the stick against them. Second, they fear losing their face and their credibility. Clearly, as long as these two "fears" exist, an atmosphere in favor of self-criticism can hardly be fostered.

Why are some comrades afraid that self-criticism is self-incriminating? It cannot be denied that this was the "result" of excessive struggles. In the past, under the impact of the leftist guiding ideology, especially when the "four pests" were in the heyday of their power, the principle of seeking truth from facts was not emphasized in the course of criticism; nor did anyone have the guts to launch self-criticism on the basis of seeking truth from facts. At that time, rumors could be fabricated

out of thin air; minor errors could be exaggerated into a serious crime; anyone who criticized himself was likely to provide a weapon that would subsequently be used by his adversaries to attack the speaker and to induce them to mount one round of attack and criticism after another against him. In the end, he would fall into a trap of his own making and would dig his own grave. What is worthy of celebration is the fact that the days when no one was allowed to make mistakes and then correct them are gone. The return of criticism and self-criticism to their original practice and tradition has been made possible by the rectification of the party's guiding ideology. Today, has anyone seen a comrade being thrown out of office because he sincerely criticized himself? Therefore, the worry that one may draw fire for criticizing oneself can and should be laid to rest now. On the contrary, if we always survey the new situation the way we did in the past, if we fail to criticize ourselves immediately after making mistakes, and if we allow ourselves to sink deeper and deeper into the quagmire of mistakes, we will be really in danger of being overthrown!

It can be said that, in contrast to the first "fear," the second "fear" is more widespread and harder to overcome. Some comrades have a very high sense of need to save their "face" and preserve their "credibility." Of course, there is nothing wrong with that. But what is wrong is that these comrades do not understand or know very little about the best way to save their "face" and preserve their "credibility." In their opinion, the best way to truly save their "face" and preserve their "credibility" is to cover up their wrongdoings, conceal their illness so as to avoid treatment, and tell lies about the true condition of their health so that they can cover up their mistakes without taking corrective action. By publicly admitting their malady and examining and discussing their mistakes, they will lose their "face" and ruin their "credibility." Actually, this is a very absurd thought. Once one has committed a mistake, any effort to cover it up will prove futile. Only by holding ourselves responsible to the party and the people and by sincerely criticizing ourselves can we be forgiven by the masses, gain their trust, and make greater progress. Examples of this kind are abundant in history and have been verified by everyday life. Historical documents, both Chinese and foreign, show that reliance on covering up wrongdoings and defending mistakes is not the best policy for achieving success and greatness. On the contrary, people can reach the peak of achievement and nobility only after having consciously and constantly corrected their mistakes. When my writing reached this point, I suddenly recalled the following story about "an apology from Engels to the duckbills": Although as a great proletarian teacher, Engels made tremendous and immortal contributions to social sciences and natural science, limited by his knowledge of the objective world he mistook the duckbills in the family of mammals for oviparous animals. Later, he openly confessed his mistake and sincerely extended his "apology" to the duckbills. The facts show that this incident did not lead Engels to lose his "face" or lower his prestige. On the contrary, he was venerated even more than ever by the people. This virtue of modesty and profile of courage for self-criticism displayed by Engels are still remembered today as an anecdote in the history of science. Can we draw a profound and inspirational lesson from this teaching?

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better." If those erring comrades really want to achieve this end, they must first kick the fear of self-criticism from their minds. When you have said something wrong, misbehaved, or published misleading works, [shouldn't you] consider it necessary to make your attitude clear or make a

statement to the public? Otherwise, how can you pledge to be responsible to the party and the people? For this reason, I hope that comrades who have committed mistakes will have the courage to criticize themselves and bid farewell to their past wrongdoings. We must firmly believe that this conscientious form of self-criticism will cause us to lose nothing but the dust that dirties our faces and bodies, and that it will in turn make us physically healthier and our spirit more exhilarating than ever.

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CSO: 4005/195

PARTY AND STATE

CADRES TOLD HOW TO PUBLICIZE 'HISTORICAL RESOLUTION'

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "The Task of Publicizing 'Historical Resolution' at the Basic Level Must Be Earnestly Carried Out"]

[Text] After the conclusion of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee designated Comrade Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], director of the Research Department of the CCP Central Secretariat, and more than 10 other comrades to come to our province to publicize the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," and help us deepen our understanding of the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee. During a period of more than 2 months, vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses in cities and countrysides of our province have earnestly studied and discussed the "Historical Resolution." Cadres above the county level, in particular, have carried out more extensive study and achieved even better results. The power of the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee is being fully demonstrated day by day through practice. Vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses wholeheartedly support and trust the party Central Committee and are more enthusiastically uniting together in implementing the four modernizations.

At present, activities for carrying out study are being conducted extensively in various places. In many of these places, for the purpose of educating core members, the work of publicizing the "Historical Resolution" among the masses has spread from individual points to the whole area. Studying the "Historical Resolution," unifying thinking, enhancing unity, inspiring enthusiasm, and doing a good job to raise production are the primary tasks of party committees at all levels, as well as of the people throughout the province. It is absolutely impermissible for us to be satisfied with the successes already achieved. We must take notice of the fact that some comrades just do not understand the importance of going a step further to carry out an extensive study of the "Historical Resolution." Ideologically, some of them still have muddled understanding of one kind or another. Therefore, it is necessary for party committees at all levels to earnestly organize the study for cadres and party members at the basic level and for the masses, and to do a good job in publicizing the "Historical Resolution," while at the same time continuing to take firm hold of the study for cadres above the county level in order to unite the people's thinking concerning the basic conclusions of the "Historical Resolution."

In publicizing the "Historical Resolution," stress must be laid on the following questions: The first is to correctly understand the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. The second is to fully affirm the successes of socialist revolution and socialist construction of the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic are primary, to evaluate the rights and wrongs and the merits and mistakes, and to get a clear understanding of the leftist mistakes and their harm. The third is to go one step further to clearly understand that the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a great historical turning point, to heighten the level of the political consciousness for implementing the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the conclusion of the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and to maintain political conformity with the party Central Committee. The fourth is to define clearly the goal of our struggle in order to unswervingly build a high-level socialist material and spiritual civilization.

The key to whether the desired results of publicizing the "Historical Resolution" can be achieved lies in whether the ideological reality and the working reality in our area and in each of our units can be closely linked. Only by closely linking realities to suit the remedy can we solve our problems. As far as linking realities in our Hebei Province is concerned, one important matter is to further eradicate the influence of the leftist mistakes. At the same time, serious and correct criticism as well as necessary and proper struggle must be carried out against those tendencies which have been derailed from the socialist track, divorced from the leadership of the party and engaged in realizing capitalist liberalization. Due to the fact that the former principal cadres of the provincial party committee adopted a negative and contradictory attitude toward the spirit of the Third Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and that, in addition, for a certain period of time we failed to fully recognize the influence of the mistakes they made and to effectively criticize them, therefore we have not been able to eliminate the influence of their mistakes prevailing among the ranks of our cadres. As a result, our efforts to smoothly bring order out of chaos have been directly affected. We must firmly grasp the golden opportunity of studying and publicizing the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the "Historical Resolution" to integrate ourselves with practice, to continue criticizing the leftist influence, to criticize the mistakes made by the former principal leading cadres of the provincial party committee in order to eliminate the leftist influence and to bring order out of chaos once and for all so that we can make every effort to raise our industrial and agricultural production and carry forward our work in every aspect.

In order to integrate ourselves with practice and to enhance the effects of publicizing the "Historical Resolution," it is necessary for us to be fully prepared. On the basis of experiences gained in various places, we must first immerse ourselves among the masses to make a thorough investigation and study, to understand the ideological expression of cadres and party members at the basic level and the broad masses, and to see the changes in thinking both before and after the study of the "Historical Resolution" in order to make a correct count of problems which have already been resolved and those which have not, or those which have not been entirely resolved, so that we can have a clear idea of the whole situation. Then, based on facts, we can realistically determine which are the principal matters to be resolved by publicizing the "Historical Resolution." Second, we must take firm hold of educating core members in conducting publicizing work. Publicizing the "Historical Resolution" must be carried out by integrating large-scale conferences with small group discussions. Large-scale conferences must be immediately followed and supplemented by small group discussions. Relying only on a few leading cadres for publicizing thus cannot meet the needs of fulfilling our mission. Therefore, a publicizing

contingent must be cultivated. Comrades who participate in the publicizing work must learn more and get better results. They must conscientiously learn and get a thorough understanding of the spirit of the "Historical Resolution" and of the actual situation at the basic level so that questions raised by the masses can be answered. Through publicizing the "Historical Resolution," the process of building a contingent of basic-level reporters and propagandists can go one step further. Third, publicizing materials must be conscientiously prepared. The "Historical Resolution" has substantial content and its full text is comparatively long. Complemented by supplementary materials, it becomes even longer. Since basic-level cadres and party members as well as the broad masses are on the forefront of production, they do not have much time to study after work. In rural areas, since the implementation of the system of production responsibility, various new situations have emerged. As a result, publicizing must start from reality and its contents must be centered on the focal point, selective and precise, but it is not necessary to attend to each and every aspect. The forms for conducting publicizing must be suited to the given time and the given local condition. They must be flexible and variable, and closely centered on the four focal points mentioned above. They must also integrate the ideological realities of cadres and party members of one's own unit with that of the masses. Each person must compile and write his own publicizing material. In this way, the material will hit the point and achieve better results in resolving problems.

Studying and publicizing the "Historical Resolution" is one of the central tasks at present. Party committees at all levels must conscientiously strengthen their leadership. They should take a firm hold of it and do a good job. Leading cadres must not only take the lead in publicizing they must continuously examine and find out what the situation is and prevent practice from becoming perfunctory. Make-up lessons should be conducted for those who fail to do a good job in publicizing, or for those places and units where the ideological problems of cadres and the masses have not been properly solved. It is necessary to promptly sum up and promote publicizing of advanced experience and to discuss good examples. It is also necessary to pay attention to rousing the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of cadres and party members and the broad masses to carry out timely work for the construction of the four modernizations. The muddled thinking and incorrect understanding of cadres, party members and the masses during study must be guided by persistently setting forth facts and reasoning so that the state of softness existing in the ideological work can be checked. Methods which are comradely, aimed at helping others, and are applied to discuss matters on the basis of equality must be adopted. A process of recognition is permissible. Offensive language coming from a handful of people must be vigorously exposed and refuted, or even appropriately struggled against when necessary. In conclusion, if we can strengthen our leadership, be well prepared, and adopt flexible forms and proper methods, the desired results of the publicizing work will definitely be realized.

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CSO: 4005/144

PARTY AND STATE

MINISTER OF COAL INDUSTRY PRAISED FOR SELF-CRITICISM

Hohhot NEIMENGGU RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological commentary by Bo Sheng [0130 3932]: "A Daring Spirit of Self-Criticism"]

[Text] On unfolding the newspaper of 29 August, I saw this bold-faced headline: "The Minister of Coal Industry Initiates Self-Criticism." He is a senior party cadre. Instead of quietly criticizing himself in the presence of a small group of his associates behind closed doors, he chose to do so at a national conference, openly blaming himself and holding himself as the minister of coal industry responsible for a decrease in the output of crude coal. On that occasion, through the newspapers he also declared his willingness to accept supervision from the entire party and the people throughout the country. In this way, he has set an example in the direction of restoring and carrying forward our party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism.

Since men are not saints, who can be infallible? In the course of carrying out work, we may find it difficult to cover up our shortcomings and to avoid making mistakes. Mistakes of one kind or another may be committed by every revolutionary throughout his life. No one can be right at all times. Among the errors made by people, there are major and minor ones as well as drawn-out and shortlived ones. No one can claim to be infallible. Today, our party is in the position of the political party in power. From that position, some comrades are apt to be carried away by a mood of arrogance and self-complacency and to be contaminated by the bureaucratic style of work; our physical health may be adversely affected by unhealthy bourgeois trends, the pernicious influence of feudal ideologies and various forces of old habit. The malicious effect of the 10-year civil strife on the party's style of work remains visible to us today. This circumstance requires us to make constant use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, just as we are required to wash our faces and sweep our living quarters every day. Only in this way can we consciously make ourselves politically pure and healthy and meet the demands placed on us by the party and the people.

The ancients said: "A gentleman has his shortcomings just as the heaven has its lunar and solar eclipses. His shortcomings are visible to everyone. If he can overcome them, he will be admired by everyone." The shortcomings and mistakes that exist in our work are clearly visible to all. No denial can eliminate their existence. If we do not dare to criticize ourselves and correct such mistakes

step by step through practice, they will snowball until they cause greater damage to the cause of the party. We should never shift the blame for the shortcomings and mistakes that exist in our work to those at the top or those at the bottom. Instead, we must trace their causes to ourselves, dare to criticize ourselves sincerely and take prompt action to correct them in the course of carrying out our practical work. If we can do so, what we do will be appreciated by the party organizations and the people. The result will be that a leader capable of initiating self-criticism will raise his prestige instead of lowering it, and will receive wholehearted support from the masses and enjoy their trust. This is a truth which has been verified by our party's historical experience and everyday life.

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CSO: 4005/171

PARTY AND STATE

GAOYANG COUNTY IN HEBEI PROMOTES CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Liu Zhihua (0491 1807 5478) and Xin Yangle (6580 1750 2667): "Gaoyang County Launches Criticism and Self-Criticism to Eliminate the 'Leftist' Influence And Check the Ideology of 'Consistent Correctness'"]

[Text] The Gaoyang County party committee has organized cadres above the middle level throughout the county to learn how to implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee and adopted the "Historical Resolution" as the criterion for launching criticism and self-criticism in order to conscientiously eliminate the influence of the "leftist" and other erroneous ideologies.

In organizing cadres above the middle level to study the "Historical Resolution," the Gaoyang County party committee recognized that for many years, due to the interference and obstruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some comrades discarded the fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism, thereby affecting the effort to strengthen the party ideologically. This brought about damage to the cause of our party, and our work met with difficulties. The party committee made a concrete analysis of the reasons that prevented criticism and self-criticism from being smoothly carried out: First, during the 10-year period of turmoil, a "ruthless struggle" and "merciless blows" went unchecked. Therefore, some comrades are uneasy even now when criticism is mentioned because they have a lingering fear of it. Second, there are those who have an ideology of "consistent correctness," so they are not able to adopt a correct attitude toward themselves. As a result, when they are criticized, they think that the criticisms are deliberately aimed at them, or constitute the big stick being used on them, or even are retaliations. Third, some of our leading cadres are in a state of laxity and softness. They just turn a deaf ear to erroneous thinking and activities. Healthy trends therefore cannot be promoted and unhealthy ones go unchecked. Still another important reason is that, prior to the announcement of the "Historical Resolution," there was no clear demarcation line between rights and wrongs in important matters of principle. Through analysis and discussion, all of us have recognized that the "Historical Resolution" itself constitutes the most profound criticism and self-criticism. The party Central Committee has set an example to us. Each of our comrades must measure himself by the "Historical Resolution" in order to make a summation of his own ideology and work. The county party committee explicitly pointed out: In the process of eradicating the influence of the "leftist" ideology, one must persist in the principle of speaking out on one's own shortcomings and errors; telling the truth instead of lies; and stressing experiences and lessons without sticking labels on people, capitalizing on people's vulnerable points, coming down with a big stick on somebody, or putting

people into categories so as to relieve their own minds. Leading members of the county party committee started with themselves to take the lead to carrying out self-criticisms. Secretary Wang Zhaopu [3769 3564 2528] of the county party committee sincerely and frankly conducted self-criticism in both large-scale conferences and small group discussions. He reiterated: "For a long time, I myself was also affected by the 'leftist' influence and carried out a whole series of 'leftist' activities. In 1976, when I was transferred from Cangzhou to Gaoyang, I brought with me the concept of finding out the 'enemy's activities.' I overestimated the problems in Gaoyang. Therefore, in some aspects of exposing, criticizing and investigating activities, the problem of magnification emerged." Another comrade who is also in a responsible position in the county party committee reported at one of the meetings on the lessons he learned from the many mistakes he had made as a result of carrying out "leftist" activities during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution"; he said the mistakes he made in 1976 were the result of his active participation in the so-called "Movement for Countering Rightist Verdicts" on which he concentrated his efforts to promote somebody and in which he handled some cases that were harmful to others. Other leading members of the county party committee also took the lead in carrying out self-criticism while holding study and discussion meetings with cadres above the middle-level.

The fact that the leading comrades of the county party committee took the lead in carrying out self-criticism has had a tremendous impact on the vast numbers of cadres. The 179 middle-level cadres who participated in the study conscientiously employed the weapon of criticism to sum up and examine their own ideologies and work. Some comrades, after finding out that their first statement was not as profound as those presented by others, requested to speak out for a second or even a third time. One comrade who in the past always thought that the side he took during the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the correct one has been significantly enlightened through studying the "Historical Resolution" and listening to self-criticism from comrades in responsible positions in the county party committee. He said: "The 'Historical Resolution' is like a lamp which makes me realize that the concept of consistent correctness was terribly wrong. The 'Great Cultural Revolution' was a catastrophic domestic turmoil initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques. Both factions were victims and neither was a winner or a loser." Two deputy secretaries of a commune party committee who were preoccupied by prejudices, due to a conflict of ideas between themselves, usually ignored each other all day long. During the study, encouraged and assisted by the leading cadres of the county party committee, they each carried out self-criticism and sincerely exchanged views, and thereby eliminated the misunderstanding between them. A middle-level cadre of a county organization made mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" but never realized this before. During the study, he made a sincere examination of the mishaps he had caused. When he was working at the public security bureau, he deemed that leaders of organizations of the masses who had opinions different from his were evildoers and he arrested them. When he was with the organizing department, he alleged that comrades who had different opinions had committed mistakes in political orientation and line. Leading cadres of the county party committee were patient in helping him analyze the reasons which gave rise to the mistakes and in explaining to him the historical conditions at that time. They considered that his mistakes were general in nature and therefore an investigation of personal responsibility was not necessary, that if he could find out and recognize his own faults and sum up experiences and lessons therefrom, he could still be a comrade of good standing. This comrade was deeply moved. He expressed his desire to work hard in order to make amends for his faults by good deeds. A leading comrade of the party branch of a county local-products company headed in his resignation

to the party organization because he had been handicapped by difficulties encountered in his work. Some comrades considered that such a practice should be seriously criticized. The county party committee was of the opinion that since this comrade brought up the difficulties he had encountered in his work, it was our duty to help him resolve the difficulties and it was not advisable for us to criticize him indiscriminately. On the basis of specific difficulties he raised, leading cadres in charge of finance and trade studied with him methods for resolving the problem. At the same time, they pointed out to him that it was not correct for him to shrink from difficulties and hand in his resignation. They encouraged him to conscientiously set strict demands on himself and try every means to overcome his difficulties in order to do a good job. He immediately expressed his desire to withdraw his resignation and to vigorously lead the staff members and workers of his company to make their contribution in support of industrial and agricultural production.

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CSO: 4005/144

PARTY AND STATE

TONG MENG HUI ROLE IN 1911 REVOLUTION IN SHAANXI RECALLED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Shao Hongmo [6730 1347 6206] and Shen Chuanzhong [3088 0278 1813], Shaanxi Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Historical Accounts Office: "The 1911 Revolution in Shaanxi"]

[Text] The 1911 Revolution led by the great revolutionary forerunner, Sun Zhongshan, overthrew the Qing Dynasty monarchical rule, bringing to an end a more than 2,000 year old autocratic monarchical system and establishing the great democratic revolution of democratic republicanism.

The 1911 Revolution in Shaanxi was also carried out under the direct solicitude and leadership of Sun Chongshan, and was an important integral part of the national revolution of 1911.

Prior to the 1911 Revolution, under the double oppression and exploitation of imperialism and feudalism, the people of Shaanxi were in an abyss of suffering. In order to meet expenditures for the emperor's travel, the Boxer indemnity, new government expenses, and other huge expenditures, the Qing Dynasty rulers intensified their extortion of the people of Shaanxi. In addition to regular taxes, they added the collection of so-called indemnity service, increased the price of salt, and taxed opium. Moreover, along with the promotion of the new government and the corruption of the feudal rulers, local taxes and levies became increasingly severe, and the number of items taxed increasingly large. There were "railroad levies," "pipe levies," and "donkey levies," etc., the levies too numerous to mention. Furthermore, from the time of the Boxer Rebellion, Shaanxi had continuous drought disasters, the disaster area extending over more than 16 counties. Villages were destitute; the bodies of the starved littered the roads; and peasants abandoned their fields to move away, nine out of 10 houses standing empty. But the Qing Dynasty rulers in no way lightened their exactions on the people, but rather "there was no year without an increase in levies, and no funds not fleeced from the people." "The people in the countryside endured unspeakable hardships, the memory of which could not be erased for a long time." Therefore, after the Boxer Rebellion, struggles of resistance against levies, against taxes, and for education spread like wildfire igniting every part of Shaanxi.

In August 1905, Sun Zhongshan founded the Chinese Tong Meng Hui in Tokyo, Japan, and called for the "expulsion of the Manchu robbers and the revival of China; the founding of a republic, and equal land rights" as a revolutionary program. The

founding of the Tong Meng Hui and the presentation of its program symbolized the entry into a new stage of the democratic revolution led by China's bourgeoisie. Students from Shaanxi studying in Japan at the time, including Jing Wumu [0064 0543 1612], Song Yuankai [1345 0337 1956], Zhang Jiying [1728 1323 7751], and Yang Mingyuan [2799 6900 3293] were the first to join the Tong Meng Hui to accompany Sun Zhongshan in carrying out revolution. That same winter, Jing Wumu returned to Shaanxi on the orders of Sun Zhongshan to engage in revolution. He propagandized Sun Zhongshan's national salvation proposals and the revolutionary program of the Tong Meng Hui. He maintained liaison with progressive intellectuals and revolutionary forces in other classes, and cultivated 13 people for membership in the Tong Meng Hui including Wang Ziduan [3769 1311 4551], Jiao Zijing [3542 1311 7234], Li Zhongte [2621 0112 3676], Li Tongxian [2621 2717 6513], and Bo Xiaoyu [2672 4607 0151]. In the fall of 1906, the Shaanxi branch of the Tong Meng Hui was established in Tokyo, Japan. Hereafter, the anti-Qing struggle of the Shaanxi people changed from its former situation of "going one's own separate way."

In order to expand its revolutionary strength, the Shaanxi branch of the Tong Meng Hui actively established newspapers and bases both inside and outside China, and vigorously launched revolutionary propaganda and organizational work. Magazines titled QINLONG, XIASHENG, and GUANLONG were published in Tokyo at the time, and secretly transported into China. These magazines exposed imperialist crimes of aggression, criticized the Qing government's corruption and betrayal of China, propagandized democratic revolutionary ideology, and vigorously spread development of a revolutionary tide in Shaanxi. In addition, the newspaper JIAOYU JIE, DIZHOU BAO, and LIZE SUIBI, which progressive intellectuals inside China had founded, played a major role in exposing the benighted rule of the Qing Dynasty and created revolutionary public opinion. Groups and bases committed to revolution founded by the Tong Meng Hui in Xian included the Education Society, the Military Study Society, the Vanguard Voice Society, and the Public Welfare Bookstore, the Jianben School, and the Girls School, all of which were secret organizations. Individual counties had education branch societies, organizations called the Qingongshe in Sanyuan, the Qiuyoushe in Pucheng, and the Bo Family Flower Garden in Jingyang, a teacher training school in Tongzhou, the Miaowan Livestock Farm in Yaozhou, and the Malanshan Iron Mine in Yijun, all of which were secret organizations. In the spread of revolutionary propaganda, and the concentration of anti-Qing forces in preparation for armed insurrection, they all played a major role.

With the proselytizing and encouragement of the Tong Meng Hui, the struggle of the Shaanxi people to resist levies and taxes and to seize authority over roads and mines waxed and waned, but steadily developed. On the Double Ninth Festival [the ninth day of the ninth lunar month] in 1907, the Tong Meng Hui organized a demonstration during sacrifices made at the tomb of the Yellow Emperor, which further unified thinking. Later, in October 1908, the Tong Meng Hui fomented and led an anti-Qing struggle by students that shook the entire province--the Pucheng case forcing the Qing government to remove from office Li Tiren [2621 2609 0088] in Pucheng and Zhi counties. The success of this struggle immediately caused an upsurge in the revolutionary atmosphere in Shaanxi Province.

With the rapid development of a revolutionary situation, and the steady increase in membership in the Tong Meng Hui, the issue of liaison with armed forces in preparation for the uprising also came to the fore. In order to meet the needs of the developing revolutionary situation, in the winter of 1908 a branch of the Tong Meng

Hui was formally established in Xian, and resolutions were passed for further liaison with parties, new armies, and for common opposition to the Qing. For this purpose, Tong Meng Hui members Qian Ding [6929 7844] and Tang Zixin [1016 5261 2450] joined the Society of Brothers and Elders [GELAOHUI] to do organization work to take over the organization. In July 1910, Tong Meng Hui members Jing Wumu and Qian Ding assembled secretly at the Great Goose Pagoda with more than 30 members of the Society of Brothers and Elders including leaders Zhang Yunshan [1728 0061 1472] and Wan Bingnan [5502 3521 0589] and swore allowance by smearing blood on their mouths. As a result of this meeting, the Shaanxi Tong Meng Hui, the New Army and the Society of Brothers and Elders organized a unified anti-Qing organization called the "Triad Society," which did good work in ideational and organizational preparations for an uprising in Xian.

The Tong Meng Hui proceeded next to strengthening control over the Shaanxi New Army. In the winter of 1910, using the methods of legal struggle, it began a struggle through the Provincial Assembly against the director of the Impeachment Office, Wang Yujiang [3769 3022 3068]. It forced the Qing Court to dismiss Wang Yujiang and more than 10 of his adherents in the New Army, resulting in the promotion of Zhang Fenghui [1728 7364 5066] and other members of the Tong Meng Hui. Thereafter, revolutionary forces exerted some control over the Shaanxi New Army, laying a foundation for an insurrection by the New Army.

Thanks to the positive action of the revolutionary party people, the revolutionary atmosphere had spread throughout the province. "No need to worry; no need to fear. The Xuantong Emperor has only 2 and a half years" was a widely popular rhyme. Xian was in a situation of a rising wind foreboding a coming storm.

On 10 October 1911, revolt broke out in Wuchang, and on 22 October, the New Army led by revolutionary party people in Shaanxi rose in rebellion in response in Xian. The rebelling army very quickly occupied the Military Armaments Bureau within the city, seizing a large quantity of arms and ammunition. Next they took control of the drum towers commanding the heights within the city and sent soldiers to capture the provincial governor, the provincial treasurer, and all government offices. Following the outbreak of war, Manchu general, Wen Rui [2494 3843], fled the Provincial Assembly to return to the Manchu Quarter. Both deployed troops and rebellious troops stood in combat readiness. Other Qing Dynasty officials fled to the homes of merchants where they hid out, all troops in outposts having joined the rebels. Consequently, virtually without encountering any resistance, all Xian, except for the Manchu Quarter, was smoothly occupied. Inside the city, students, shop employees and members of the Society of Brothers and Elders hurriedly cut off their queues and wrapped a white cloth around their arms as a sign of support. On the 23rd, the rebelling army moved victoriously on the Manchu Quarter, and after a day of fierce fighting, the Manchu Quarter fell. The general of the Manchu armies, Wen Rui, committed suicide by jumping into a well. All of Xian had been recovered.

On the 24th, the provincial capital made its initial decision to have all high-ranking military officers hold a meeting in the Military Armaments Bureau to organize a provisional headquarters, and to designate the rebel army the "Qinlong Han Revival Army." At the same time notices of reassurance to the population were posted, and a general order issued throughout the province. Its text read: "All provinces have risen in revolt meeting the will of heaven above and the desires of

man below. It is a just and honorable purpose. First comes protection of the citizenry; second comes protection of merchants; and third comes protection of foreigners. The Han and the Moslem peoples are as brothers. This has been proclaimed that all may be free from worry." On the 27th, the Shaanxi military government was formally proclaimed, and Zhang Fenghui was chosen commander-in-chief of the Qinlong Han Revival Army. Qian Ding and Wan Bingnan became deputy commanders-in-chief. General affairs, military government, finance, civil government, foreign affairs, education, industry, and transportation organizations were established and officers appointed to them. Also established were soldier and horse, and rations organizations, and a provincial military governor. East, west, south, and north expedition commanders took over all counties.

When the news of the Xian uprising spread, all counties hurried to join in. Within a period of 10 days, between 50 and 60 counties in central Shaanxi, northern Shaanxi, and southern Shaanxi (except for Hanzhong whose recovery was somewhat delayed) raised righteous banners on high, and the entire province was rapidly recovered.

The Qing Court was unwilling to accept defeat in Shaanxi, and immediately dispatched large forces from the east and the west for a pincer attack in a vain effort to extinguish the revolution in Shaanxi. The Qinlong Han Revival Army government issued a notice titled, "Organize the Militia's Strength to Attack the Enemy and Protect Our Native homes," and mobilized and organized the masses of people to safeguard the fruits of revolution. They engaged in the famous defensive battles of Tongguan, Qianzhou, and Fengxiang. In the armed uprising of masses of people for defensive combat, the "Xingzi Barracks," the "Dare-to-Die Army," fought heroically without fear of making sacrifices, and many heroic deeds such as might move one to song and to tears took place. Amidst the sounds of negotiated peace north and south, battlefields in Shaanxi spread like beacon fires. Revolutionary armies in Shaanxi determinedly resisted the mad counter-attacks of the Qing armies until finally the Qing emperor declared his abdication.

The 1911 Revolution in Shaanxi not only demolished the reactionary rule of the Qing Dynasty in Shaanxi and disrupted plans of the Qing Dynasty rulers to use Shaanxi and Gansu as bases for the recovery of the southeast, but also spread to neighboring provinces, giving powerful impetus to development of the revolutionary situation in North China. Furthermore, the west from the Xinjiang frontier eastward to the central plains of Shaanxi and Henan, a span of several thousand li, very rapidly become enveloped in the storm of revolution, hastening the progress of extinction of the Qing Dynasty. For this reason, the 1911 Revolution in Shaanxi occupies an important place in the history of the 1911 Revolution in all of China.

Because of the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and because the proletariat had not yet mounted the political platform, under the pressure of imperialist and warlord power, Sun Zhongshan was coerced in April 1912 to abdicate the presidency of the Nanjing Provisional Government, and the representative of the landlord-compradore class, Yuan Shikai usurped power. The revolution, thereupon, failed. In July 1914, Yuan Shikai dismissed Zhang Fenghui from his position as governor of Shaanxi Province, dispatching his trusted follower, Lu Jianzhang [7120 1696 4545], to govern Shaanxi. Thereafter, Shaanxi became part of the territory of the Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong warlords. History has shown that the bourgeois was

unable to lead the Chinese anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution, which had to be completed under the leadership of the proletariat.

Despite the failure of the 1911 Revolution, it was a major milestone in the Chinese democratic revolutionary process, and it had a great effect on the continued development of subsequent democratic revolutions. Because of the limitations of history, it was unable to change China's tragic fate in becoming a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, but it pioneered a broad road for the Chinese people to realize thoroughgoing democratic revolution and socialist revolution.

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PARTY AND STATE

USE OF 'HISTORICAL RESOLUTION' TO COMBAT WEAKNESSES URGED

Huhot NEIMENGGU RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Ideological commentary by Zi Zhen [1311 3791]: "It Is Necessary To Combat One's Weaknesses"]

[Text] Since the Sixth Plenum, many cheerful and hard-working comrades have achieved remarkable successes on all fronts in response to the call of the "Historical Resolution." But some comrades still face the problem of how to overcome their unhealthy state of mind, how to raise their consciousness of the need to eliminate their weaknesses and shortcomings, and how to adapt themselves to the needs of the four modernizations program.

As long as he wants to get his work done, every revolutionary cannot avoid making mistakes and errors. The process of work he experiences is one of continuing to uphold truth and correct mistakes. We must summarize and examine what we have done in accordance with the guidelines of the "Historical Resolution." Only in this way can we sum up our successful experiences, draw lessons from our failures, and truly reap benefit from the study of the guidelines of the "Historical Resolution." In this connection, a case in point is the necessity of daringly overcoming one's selfish and narrowminded desires. For example, some comrades have learned lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution" in a negative way and refuse to take bold steps in their work. They do this out of fear of spoiling their existing working relationship and offending others. This mentality has led them to take an indifferent attitude toward everything, to say as little as possible while knowingly seeing something go wrong, and to refuse to uphold the principle and struggle against erroneous ideologies and misconduct which endanger the cause of the party and the people. Does this mentality deserve the thoughtful attention of our leading cadres?

One's weaknesses are usually in the nature of observing everything from a localized and one-sided point of view. In the course of getting to know objective matter, and subjectively developing ways to size up an object, we probably cannot completely avoid mistakes in limiting and distorting our vision to a certain degree. Man's ability to get to know objective matter is often limited by his specific levels of knowledge, his capacity for reasoning things out, and his class status. That is why he cannot understand objective reality and comprehend and master objective laws all at once. There is a poem written by Su Shi, an

outstanding essayist and poet of the Song Dynasty, which reads: "A side view of Chengling Mountain makes it look like a precipitous cliff; observation of this mountain from a nearby position and from afar will also make its height appear different. The true face of Lushan is unknown to those who live there." This poem (which appears on the wall of Xilin) strongly appeals to reason. By observing things from different positions and angles, we may come up with different conclusions about objective reality. Party members, especially the party's leading cadres, should study problems and act in a way that takes into account the overall interest. They should survey the overall situation with broadminded foresight, consider the situation as a whole, and handle correctly the relationships between the state, the collective and the individual. Only in this way can we effectively overcome the tendency to see everything from a localized and one-sided point of view. One's shortcomings and inadequacy are negative factors which stand in the way of success in work. If we realistically assess our inadequacy, constantly remind ourselves of our shortcomings, and adopt correct methods to combat them and overcome our weaknesses on a continuing basis, we can certainly turn the negative factors into positive ones and create conditions which will lead us to success in our work.

957A

CSO: 4005/171

PARTY AND STATE

LIBERALIZATION, 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' POLICIES RECONCILED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Oct 81 p 3

[Commentary in "Readers' Forum" section by Wang Ping [3769 1627]: "Opposing Liberalization and Upholding the 'Double Hundred' Policy"]

[Text] Opposing the tendency of bourgeois liberalization, insofar as the realm of literature and art is concerned, is meant to better implement the "double hundred" policy and further enliven our literary and art enterprises. This relationship is clear to many comrades. But some comrades also think that opposing liberalization by the method of criticism and self-criticism will hinder the implementation of the "double hundred" policy. When we suggest the need to launch necessary criticism or even struggle against the tendency of liberalization in the realm of literature and art, they invariably say: "Look, restrictions are going to be applied again"; "the spring of literature and art is going to go away again." This situation reflects a certain lack of clarity on the part of some of our comrades about the demarcation between opposing bourgeois liberalization and upholding the "double hundred" policy--which those [comrades] place in opposition to each other.

The policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" was first of all put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong in accordance with the objective, actual situation that various contradictions still existed in our society, and that it was still necessary to launch various regular discussions in science, culture, and the arts (including criticism) in order to promote the advancement of literature and art and scientific progress. Like everything else, the various literary and art works, various schools, or various different views in academic studies have all been in a state of mutual comparison, mutual struggle, and mutual conflict. Correct things always exist along with erroneous things and develop in their struggle against such erroneous things. The "double hundred" policy itself embodies the spirit of having different things compete with one another, people's strong points compensate people's weak points, and the superior win over the mediocre. Launching criticism and self-criticism to oppose various erroneous ideologies was originally a thematic implication of the "double hundred" policy. Some comrades forget this fundamental spirit and think that upholding the "double hundred" policy requires "absolute freedom": thus, only we ourselves are allowed to criticize others but others are not allowed to criticize our own works and views, or otherwise others would be regarded as "swinging the stick" and not accommodating "relaxation." How can such a proposition of rejecting criticism and self-criticism have any spirit of the "double hundred" policy left in it?

As a long-range policy for our party to develop science and the arts, the "double hundred" policy is meant to win superiority and the leadership position for Marxism in the ideological realm. While putting forth the "double hundred" policy, Comrade Mao Zedong at the same time proposed six criteria for judging people's expressions and right and wrong. And he pointed out: "The most important are the two criteria of the socialist path and party leadership." In the realm of literature and art, we must insist on the unity of political standards and artistic standards. At present, the political standards for literary and art works are nothing other than adhering to the four basic principles; this is where the interests of the people of the whole country lie. Those who resort to bourgeois liberalization use the emancipation of our thinking as a pretext, emphasizing only the "artistic standards" of literary and art works while abandoning or even opposing their political standards. As regards creation, they ignore its social effects and single-mindedly stress the need to "expose" social realities. As a result, the style of some works is far from lofty and their content far from healthy, and therefore they are damaging to the people's physical and mental health. In their treatment of the nation's literary and art traditions and imported works of art, they indiscriminately accommodate both the dress and the essential, and they produce and publish literary and art works with the goal of making money and pursuing profits. A small number of works have denied the party's leadership, negated the socialist system, and seriously damaged the image of our party, state, and army. All this is in glaring contradiction to the "double hundred" policy.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have seriously carried out the "double hundred" policy in the scientific and cultural realms of science and culture and have enabled the literary and art garden, where the hundred flowers had withered, to see the arrival of spring. This cannot be anything but the result of our criticism of the cultural autocracy of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But our criticism of "left" mistakes on the cultural front does not necessarily imply that resorting to bourgeois liberalization is correct. Just think: if we let this trend spread, the socialist literary and art garden will become full of weeds. How can we speak of such an approach in terms of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, letting a hundred schools contend?" On this question, we must remain clearheaded.

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CSO: 4005/173

PARTY AND STATE

SUN YATSEN POLICY ON KUOMINTANG-CCP COOPERATION PRAISED

Shanghai WENHUIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Shao Chuanlie [6730 0278 3525]]

[Text] In August 1922, Sun Yatsen, gloomy, travel-worn and weary, retreated from Hong Kong to Shanghai, accompanied by only a single aide who carried his suitcase. His second campaign in defense of constitutional legitimacy had been crushed by the defection of Chen Jiongming [7115 3518 2492]. Chen Jiongming's defection was one of the most tragic defeats Sun Yatsen had ever sustained. He could not believe that Chen Jiongming, a protege whom he had groomed, would turn against him at a critical stage of the revolution. Sun Yatsen, who had once outwitted even the Qing Dynasty government which had offered a huge reward for his head, this time almost fell into a deathtrap set up by the shameless ruffian who "staged an armed rebellion in Sun's own court." That really hurt him. Dismayed and grieved in retrospect, Sun Yatsen said in a "letter to the Kuomintang members":

"I have led my comrades to struggle for the republic for nearly 30 years, having braved untold dangers and sustained countless defeats. But this is the most tragic defeat of them all because all the other defeats, notwithstanding all the contributory causes, were inflicted by enemies. Now, Chen Jiongming, whom I sheltered for more than 10 years, has stepped into the shoes of the enemy whom I had already subdued. He is so sinister and ruthless that he has done without remorse what the enemy could not bear to do to me." ("Selected Works of Sun Yatsen," Vol 1, p 448)

Will the lot of the republic ever take a turn for the better? That was the question which Sun Yatsen pondered in the company of a few aides who were with him at his Shanghai residence. For once the indomitable Sun Yatsen was at his wits' end.

1. Sun Yatsen came into contact with the October Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party in the midst of his despair. According to Comrade Mao Zedong: "Sun Yatsen welcomed the October Revolution, the assistance extended to the Chinese people by the Russians, and the willingness of the Chinese Communist Party to cooperate with him" ("On People's Democratic Dictatorship," in "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1360) This remarkable turning point in the life of Sun Yatsen made his final years especially bright.

History is replete with famous personalities who for one reason or another failed to maintain their integrity in old age, or succumbed to wordly pleasures and lost the urge to forge ahead, or were broken down by the weight of their successes, or made serious mistakes in judgment by misreading their own experience. Tragedies such as these abound in the history of every nation. But Sun Yatsen was different. With indomitable resolve he always forged ahead, deterred by neither defeat nor success. He said long ago: "Since we are committed to the cause of reform in China, the commitment will never change as long as I live, no matter what happens. We must not despair of failure nor succumb to difficulties. The final victory will be won some day if we forge ahead unrelentingly to keep pace with the tide of progress and trust that good will prevail over evil." ("Letter to All the Comrades in Southeast Asia, 1912" in "Complete Works of the President," edited by Hu Hanmin, Vol 3, p 229) Sun Yatsen's "resolve to forge ahead unrelentingly" became even more firm, not slack, in his old age.

Having gone over the lessons he had drawn from his defeats and assessed very carefully all the available options, Sun Yatsen realized that the Communists were the most dependable friends. Following the victory of the October Revolution led by Lenin, the Soviet Government declared again and again that it would give up the special privileges in China acquired by the tsar and proposed the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with China based on equality and mutual respect. Sun Yatsen was so elated that he personally wrote to Chicherin the Soviet foreign minister: "I hope to meet you personally and all other friends in Moscow. I have been watching your achievements, especially the soviet form of organization and the organization of your armed forces and education." He ended his letter with a warm greeting: "Please accept my respects to my friend Lenin and all my friends who have done so much for the freedom of mankind." ("Selected Works of Sun Yatsen," Vol 1, p 436) Lenin also had a great deal of respect for Sun Yatsen and praised him as "revolutionary democrat" worthy to be a comrade of the great French publicists and activists of the 18th century." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, pp 424, 425) In June 1921, Lenin again extended a helping hand to Sun Yatsen by dispatching Maring, secretary of the Committee on International and Colonial Affairs, to visit China. Maring met Liao Zhongkai [1875 0112 1956] in Guangzhou through the introduction of Li Dazhao [2612 1129 0456]. Then, accompanied by Zhang Tailei [1728 1132 7191], a member of the Communist Party who served as interpreter, Maring left for Guilin to see Sun Yatsen, who received him warmly. They held friendly discussions for 9 consecutive days. After the meeting, Sun Yatsen cabled Liao Zhongkai: "I am very happy to have met with Maring." Sun Yatsen then decided to pursue a new revolutionary policy: ally with Russia, ally with the Communists, and support the peasants and workers. This was a decisive step taken by a great revolutionary leader to bring about Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. Historians will no doubt add this to modern Chinese history: The step taken by Sun Yatsen represented supreme courage and wisdom.

11. History is a record of the psychological reactions of mankind. An ordinary day becomes memorable if an important event is recorded on that day. On 23 August 1922, Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, accompanied by Lin Zexu [2651 0131 3255], made a special trip to Shanghai to see Sun Yatsen. Mutual admiration made them feel like old friends the moment they met. Sun Yatsen had read Li Dazhao's 1918 article on "The Triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution" and approved Li's assessment that "the 1917 Russian revolution is not only a symbol of the awakening of the Russian people, but also a symbol of the awakening of the people of the world in the 20th century." ("Selected Essays on the 4 May Movement," p 184). Sun Yatsen and Li Dazhao discussed and reached a consensus on a wide range of issues,

including an assessment of the world situation, the cooperation of the two parties, and how to revitalize the Kuomintang as a vehicle to revitalize China. Sun Yatsen's confidence was resurrected by the cooperation of the Communists. His realization that the Communists would give the Chinese revolution a new lease on life helped firm up his decision to cooperate with them. A few days later, with Sun Yatsen himself presiding, Li Dazhao, acting as a private individual, formally joined the Kuomintang. This paved the way for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation, the first of its kind in Chinese history.

The cooperation was by no means unconditional, nor did it inhibit criticism whenever called for. In its first public statement on the general situation in China, the Chinese Communist Party praised and encouraged Sun Yatsen's revolutionary activities but also offered a few solemn comments. It pointed out that the Kuomintang "lacks concerted action, tends to befriend the imperialists and has cooperated twice with the warlords. To preserve its position in the democratic revolution, the Kuomintang must abandon its wavering policy." Writing for XIANGDAO, the party's official publication, Cai Hesen [5591 0735 2773], a leading Communist, reminded Sun Yatsen that the revolution would lose its vitality if it relied on the imperialists and warlords and played politics to resist attack. To insure the success of the revolution, "it is necessary to unite with the masses on the one hand and take Soviet Russia as the only ally on the other." When Sun Yatsen read the article, the earnestness of the author gushed out like a crystalline spring which soothed and moved him profoundly. Willing to listen to good advice, open-minded, Sun Yatsen, a great statesman, was ready to correct his mistakes. Even in his old age, he still had the courage to break with the mistakes he had made, notwithstanding his rising political stature and the weight his words and actions carried.

III. Cooperation with the Communists did not work as smoothly within the Kuomintang as expected. There were Kuomintang members who opposed Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. They included Zou Lu [6760 7627], Ju Zheng [1446 2973], Zhang Ji [1728 4949], Feng Ziyou [7458 5261 3945] and Deng Zeru [6772 3419 1172]. There were many hands pulling him back when Sun Yatsen decided to take a step forward. They alleged: "Kuomintang-Communist cooperation will give the Communists an opportunity to overthrow Sun Yatsen." Sun Yatsen, who did not believe such nonsense, told Feng Ziyou, who opposed the Kuomintang reorganization: "If you are afraid of the Communists and do not like the reorganization, you may withdraw from the Kuomintang." When Zhang Ji, who opposed the Kuomintang reorganization vehemently, got unreasonably violent at a meeting one night, Sun Yatsen became so angry that he ordered Ma Xiang [7456 3276], his aide-de-camp, to escort Zhang out of the meeting room and placed him under house arrest overnight. The opponents of Kuomintang-Communist cooperation approached Song Qingling and tried to get her to stop Sun Yatsen, but she turned them down. When Sun Yatsen became aware of this, he said to Song Qingling emotionally: "The Kuomintang has outstanding people as well as despicable people. The outstanding ones join the party for its ideals and objectives, while the despicable ones join us just to get a stepping stone for political gain. If we cannot weed out these parasites, what's the use of having the Kuomintang?" (Song Qingling: "Confucianism and Modern China," "Struggle for New China," p 87)

Sun Yatsen was indeed worthy to be called a great man at the forefront of the time. As long as he felt sure he was with the right trend of the time, he would forge ahead unrelentingly. He was courageous and resourceful. Braving all obstructions, he worked calmly and systematically for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. In November 1923,

Sun Yatsen issued a declaration on the Kuomintang reorganization and a draft party program. In December, he addressed the Kuomintang members three times to explain his decision to reorganize the Kuomintang and learn from Soviet Russia. Just before convening the first Kuomintang congress, he set up an interim central committee of nine, including Liao Zhongkai and Tan Pingshan [6223 1627 1472] (a Communist) to take charge of the reorganization work.

The Chinese Communist Party found it absolutely essential to form a united revolutionary front. The enemies of the Chinese revolution were so powerful that to get the heavy burden off the back of the Chinese people, the proletariat had to mobilize and organize the masses, and unite with all classes, parties, organizations and individuals that could be joined to form a broad united revolutionary front. Otherwise, the revolution was bound to face setbacks and defeats. In 1923 the third congress of the Chinese Communist Party met in Guangzhou. It was attended by Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101], Zhang Tailei, Mao Zedong, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu [0686 6226 0056], Tan Pingshan and Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614]. The focal issue discussed and voted on by the congress was the establishment of a united front with the Kuomintang. The "resolution on the Problem of the National Movement and the Kuomintang" passed by the congress laid down a program and policy of cooperation with the Kuomintang. It also decided to let the Communist Party members join the Kuomintang as private individuals for the purpose of forming a massive united revolutionary front, provided that the Communist Party retained its ideological, political and organizational independence. The party Central Committee designated Comrade Li Dazhao as the leader of all the comrades who attended this particular congress.

IV. Any action in agreement with the historical trend is bound to succeed. The first congress of the Kuomintang to implement the Kuomintang-Communist cooperation was formally convened in Guangzhou on 20 January 1924. The Communists, including Li Dazhao, Lin Boqu, Mao Zedong, Qu Qiubai, Li Weiham [2621 4850 3352], Xia Xi [1115 2569] and Wang Jinmei [3769 4147 5019], attended and led this most significant meeting in Chinese history. Sun Yatsen designated Li Dazhao as a delegate representing Beijing and made him a member of a presidium of five. Sun Yatsen presided as president of the Kuomintang and delivered an opening address. After going over the lessons drawn from the failures of the 13 years since the 1911 revolution, he stated categorically: "This reorganization means we have a new beginning today. There is an old saying: 'What took place in the past died yesterday; what is in store for the future begins today.' We gathered the forces to found the republic and we will gather the forces to reform the government." ("Selected Works of Sun Yatsen," Vol 2, p 515) Sun Yatsen was again full of vigor. Yesterday's mistakes had been washed away by the receding tide of history. Today's efforts would usher in a new social transformation. The first congress of the Kuomintang passed its famous "Declaration of the Kuomintang First Congress" which summed up the experience of its past revolutionary struggles, analyzed the conditions in China at that time, and changed the old Three People's Principles to new Three People's Principles based on the spirit of the three fundamental policies. This declaration became the common platform of cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

The superb contributions and brilliant achievements of Sun Yatsen and the members of the capitalist revolutionary party which he represented will live forever. The first round of cooperation worked out by the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party stood for the formation of a united Chinese national democratic revolutionary front. The Kuomintang-Communist cooperation helped the Chinese democratic revolution reach

such a height that the year 1924 marked the emergence of labor unions and peasants unions, including the convening of the Guangdong workers congress and the first Guangdong provincial peasants congress.

More than half a century elapsed between the day Sun Yatsen began in his old age to cooperate with the Chinese Communist Party and the day Song Qingling, Mne Sun Yatsen, joined the Chinese Communist Party on her deathbed. The history of these 57 years bears out one simple truth: only the Chinese Communist Party could save China. After 40 years of probing, Sun Yatsen finally ran into the Communists, the most dependable friends. Song Qingling, who inherited the unfinished tasks of Sun Yatsen, also found her best political resting place. Sun Yatsen once said: "The world trend is so enormous and powerful that one who goes with it prospers and one who opposes it perishes." Sun Yatsen was with the historical trend of the time when he decided in his old age to cooperate with the Communists. Later, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party had their second round of cooperation. Today the public eagerly awaits a third round of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to bring about our national unification. If so, it will mean a great deal to the revival of the Chinese nation and the well-being of the Chinese people.

5360

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NEED TO SUBORDINATE MINOR TO MAJOR INTERESTS DISCUSSED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 3

[Ideological commentary by Chen Fengyi [7115 7685 0308]: "Minor Principles Are Subordinate to the Major Ones"]

[Text] "There are major and minor principles in everything, and the minor principles are all subordinate to the major." (Mao Zedong: "Policies, Measures and Perspectives for Resisting the Japanese Invasion") The term "major principles" generally refer to the national, collective, and long-term basic interests, while the term "minor principles" refer to the individual, local and short-term current interests or practical problems concerning everyday life. These two categories of principles cover two groups of interests which, in our socialist country, are reciprocally related, interconnected, transferable to each other, have a penetrating effect on each other and are interdependent. There is conflict as well as unity between the two groups of interests. The most fundamental task of ideological and political work is to constantly resolve and smooth over the conflict between the two groups of interests, to teach the people to handle the relationship between the two correctly, and to subordinate the individual interests unconditionally to the revolutionary interests. Of course during the implementation of ideological and political work, we must also put stress on minor principles, pay attention to the plight of people, help them overcome practical difficulties, and create favorable conditions which will lead them to work harder than ever. But doing this alone is far from adequate. The reason is that the important role of ideological and political work is to help the people fundamentally raise their political consciousness and improve their ways of thinking, and devise ways to solve their specific ideological and practical problems. Only in this way can they foster lofty revolutionary ideals, develop a decent communist ideology and morality, "become concerned with the affairs of state before others and enjoy comfort after others," put public interest above private interest, serve public interest and sacrifice private interest, and do justice to all under all circumstances. In response to the call of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," we must acquaint the people with a Marxist world outlook and communist code of ethics, resist the influence of decadent bourgeois ideologies, liquidate the vestiges of feudalism, overcome the influence of petty bourgeois ideas, carry forward the patriotic spirit of putting the interests of the motherland above all else, and display the pioneering spirit of hard struggle for the development of modernization. Only in this way can we consciously and thoroughly implement the party's line, principles and policies, and act in a way consistent with the political line of the party Central Committee.

This reminds us not only of the need to convey the major principles to the people, but also of the need to do so on a wider scale. As soon as the major principles become clear to all, the minor principles will become self-evident. When this is done, the people will adopt a correct attitude toward the practical problems that cannot possibly be solved in a short time, and will never complain about or take a negative attitude toward them. For example, our current efforts to speed up the tempo of the four modernizations call for a further readjustment of the national economy. This is an issue which will affect not only all fronts in our country but also many facets of our national life, including education, employment, wages for workers, marriage and families. These are practical problems which are related in many ways to the readjustment of the national economy. No one should shut his eyes or turn a deaf ear to such specific problems. Nor should anyone take an indifferent attitude toward them. Proper arrangements and active efforts must be made for their solution in accordance with actual conditions. But we must make clear to all that the readjustment of the national economy and the speedy development of the four modernizations are in the best interests of our nation, and teach the people to consider the situation as a whole and bear the overall interest in mind. We must also urge them not to become obsessed with their current short-term interests. During the period of the readjustment of the national economy, some local and individual interests may be adversely affected by the development of certain projects which are deemed essential to the development of the nation's four modernizations program. Although some projects are also considered absolutely necessary by certain individuals or organizations and their requests for carrying out such projects are justified, these projects must be postponed or shelved in favor of the national or overall interest. The public is generally receptive to analyzing problems and conveying principles in this way. The fighting power of ideological and political work can be strengthened by emphasizing major and minor principles simultaneously and by subordinating the minor to the major principles.

Yet during the current implementation of ideological and political work, some people appear not interested in talking about the major principles, which in their view are merely idle talk and therefore cannot help solve any practical problems. At the heart of this problem is first of all the pernicious influence left in the wake of the 10-year civil strife. Under such influence, some people have lost their ability to distinguish between major principles on the one hand and the "lies, and big and idle talk" put out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the other. This is why they mistake the lectures on revolutionary principles for garrulity and a "left" deviationist tendency and why they dare not take bold steps to convey the revolutionary principles and carry out ideological and political work. In this way, they have opened a crevice for the rampant bourgeois laissez-faire trend to penetrate our country. Under the influence of this trend, they have openly allowed others to ridicule and criticize our revolutionary slogans and excellent tradition and to advertise bourgeois profiteering and selfish practices as the first law under heaven and justified, and the bourgeois forms of "freedom" and "democracy" as the mainstay of their utopian realism. Their aim is to say out of the control of ideological and political work and get rid of the leadership of the party. They have even gone so far as to wrongly downgrade Marxism as merely a subject of study rather than a truth. True, our ideological and political work has been implemented in a summary fashion. For example, the relationship between material interests and their effect on our spirit has been turned upside down, and the party's expression of concern for the people's material interests and its efforts to raise their political consciousness

have been treated as two unrelated and rival matters. This has resulted from a failure to clearly define the principle of material interests which links the fruits of labor performed by workers with their material interests in conformity with the socialist economic laws. Its aim is to encourage workers to contribute as much as possible to the four modernizations program instead of guiding them to think about their personal gains and losses. We must lead the people to properly handle the relationships between the state, collectives and individuals, and discourage them from applying the principle of material interests as a "weapon" to defend their individual interests. As a result of our failure to explicitly explain this major principle, some "purely profit-minded" people in some units have been portrayed as men capable of taking bold steps, while those hard working comrades who are not interested in gaining profits and fame are treated as fools unpopular with the people. This reminds us not only of the need to convey the minor as well as the revolutionary major principles to the public, but also of the need to subordinate the minor to the major principles. Only in this way can we strengthen the fighting power of our ideological and political work.

9574

CSO: 4005/241

PARTY AND STATE

ZHOU XINMING CONTINUES DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26, 29 Oct 81, 2, 3 Nov 81

[26 Oct 81 p 5]

[Article by Zhou Xinming [0719 2450 6900]: "Constitutional Guarantees--Learning About Constitutions," IV. Parts I-III of this article published in JPRS 79550, 30 Nov 81, No 242 of this series, pp 21-24.]

[Text] When speaking of our country's 1954 Constitution, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "When the Constitution is adopted, it will be the duty of every single person in our nation to carry out its provisions, and particularly workers in government organs must take the lead in implementing the Constitution." "Not carrying out the provisions of the Constitution would amount to violating the Constitution." Establishing and perfecting a system of constitutional guarantees are important measures to ensure strict observance of the Constitution by the entire nation and especially by workers in government organs. The constitutions of all the countries of the world generally contain provisions that ensure their implementation. The three major types of such provisions are:

1. Clear provisions placing the constitution in the highest position, above the entire legal system of the state and endowing it with supreme legal force. For instance, the Basic Law of West Germany stipulates in its Article 28: "The constitutional order in the Laender must conform to the principles of the republican, democratic and social rule of law within the meaning of this Basic Law." Article 2 of the Federal Constitution of Switzerland (Provisional Regulations) stipulates: "All federal laws and treaties and all cantonal constitutions and laws which conflict with the present Constitution shall become invalid as from the day of enforcement of the present Constitution."
2. Clear provisions determining the special procedure for the revision of the constitution. Modern bourgeois countries in general prescribe that revisions of the constitution require a two-third or a three-quarter majority in the legislature, while the amendment of ordinary laws requires only a simple majority. For instance, Article 5 of the U.S. Constitution prescribes that if two-thirds of both houses of Congress consider it necessary, they shall propose a Constitutional amendment, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, Congress shall call a convention for proposing amendments. In either case the amendment shall become valid as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by conventions for the revision of the Constitution in three-fourths of the states.

3. Clear provisions of special organs to supervise the implementation of the constitution. Some countries have this supervision carried out by the organ of supreme state power or its permanent representation. For instance, Article 30 of the 1972 Constitution of Hungary stipulates that the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic "supervise the implementation of the Constitution. The Presidium can abrogate or amend laws, regulations and decisions on matters of state administration which conflict with the provisions of the Constitution." Some countries have this supervisory function exercised by the judicial organs. For instance, Article 81 of the Japanese Constitution stipulates: "The Supreme Court is the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act." Article 10 of the Philippine Constitution stipulates: "All cases which involve the constitutionality of treaties, government agreements and laws shall be decided by the Supreme Court." Some countries have established special organs to deal with these questions. In France there is a constitutional commission. Austria, West Germany, Italy and other countries have established constitutional courts or tribunals. Article 62 of the present French Constitution stipulates: "No law shall be enacted or implemented that has been declared in violation of the Constitution. There is no appeal against the decision of the Constitutional Council. The decision of the Constitutional Council is of binding legal force for all departments of the government and all administrative and judicial organs." The Austrian Constitutional Court will act on the request of the Supreme Court or the Administrative Court and examine the constitutionality of federal or state laws. Decisions of the Constitutional Court have binding force and cannot be appealed.

In our Constitution of 1954 the right of supervision over the enforcement of the constitution is reserved for the National People's Congress. The right to abrogate decisions or orders of the State Council, which violate the Constitution, or violate laws and orders, or to amend or abrogate inappropriate resolutions by provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, rests with the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. However, our Constitution has no clear and concrete provisions as to how this supervision of the enforcement of the Constitution is to be carried out. To enhance the authority of the Constitution, it is quite necessary to include clear and concrete provisions in our Constitution to ensure its effectiveness.

[29 Oct 81 p 4]

[Article by Zhou Xinming [0719 2450 6900]: "Interpretations of Constitutions-- Learning About Constitutions," V]

[Text] A constitution has the legal force of supreme law. No law must conflict with the constitution; any law that does conflict is invalid. But how is it being determined whether a law conflicts with the constitution? This depends on constitutional interpretation. The systems by which the various countries interpret their constitutions may be divided into three general types:

1. Interpretation by the legislative body. Great Britain can serve as an example of this system. No distinction is made in England between ordinary legislation and drawing up constitutional provisions. If the Parliament decides on laws, these laws are valid even if they conflict with earlier constitutional provisions. Article 89 of the revised 1974 Constitution of the German Democratic Republic stipulates:

"Laws and regulations must not conflict with the Constitution, the question is to be decided by the People's Parliament."

2. Interpretation by the courts. The first to adopt this system was the United States. In 1803, Chief Justice Marshall in the case of *Marbury versus Madison* decided that the Judicial Organization Law of 1789 was unconstitutional and refused to apply it, thereby setting a precedent for the Federal Supreme Court's right to examine the constitutionality of laws. However, the Federal Supreme Court cannot examine laws on its own initiative, but can act only when the law in question is related to the interests of the parties in the lawsuit and only if the party has filed suit in the Federal Supreme Court. If a case of this nature has been accepted by the Supreme Court and a violation of the Constitution has been established, the court can only decide that the law is invalid and refuse to apply it, but cannot decide to abolish the law in question.

3. Interpretation by special courts. Austria can serve as an example of this system. Austria and other countries with similar systems have established Constitutional Courts which have the power to declare a certain law, in whole or in part, in conflict with the Constitution. Any law that is in this way declared in conflict with the Constitution is invalid from the day that it is declared invalid. However, under certain conditions, the Constitutional Court can decide that the law in question may remain in force for 1 more year.

In some modern bourgeois countries, the system of interpreting the constitution is regarded as a flexible tool to make the constitutions of these countries conform with the interests and demands of the bourgeoisie according to the changing political and economic situation. The interpretation of the same constitution can therefore decide either on concentration of power in the central authority, or on relegation of power to local authorities. It can decide in favor of a *laissez-faire* attitude, or on a policy of controls and interferences, etc. The famous American Judge Parker commented on constitutional interpretations as follows: "Revision of the Constitution is a complex and dangerous matter. It therefore has developed that the courts assumed the duty to interpret the Constitution according to changing conditions." The author of the book "Theory and Practice of American Democracy" also admits that "using the system of constitutional interpretation is precisely one method to adopt the Constitution to the needs of changing conditions without the need for formal revisions of the Constitution itself." As statistics show, the cases where the Federal Supreme Court has declared laws unconstitutional have been increasing ever since the ratification of the Constitution in 1789. This is a clear indication that the system of constitutional interpretations is being used in some modern bourgeois states as a method to protect the continued rule of the bourgeoisie.

[2 Nov 81 p 5]

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "The Structure of Constitutions--Learning About Constitutions," VI]

[Text] The structure of constitutions refers to the way written constitutions organize and arrange their content in order to form a perfect constitutional document. In general, the content of the constitution determines the structure of the constitution. However, in view of the historical peculiarities of the various countries, their cultural traditions and the different background of people taking

part in drafting constitutions, the content of some constitutions may be more or less the same, while the structure can show considerable differences. There is no fixed pattern for structuring constitutions, be they bourgeois-type constitutions or socialist-type constitutions.

In comparing the structure of 150 constitutions of presently existing countries (among them 12 countries, for instance Ghana, Nigeria and Namibia, whose constitutions are made up of a certain number of constitutional documents) we find that the following points deserve our attention:

1. Among the 150 constitutions, 91 have preambles and 59 are without preambles. This shows that not every constitution has a preamble or needs one. However, since the majority of constitutions have preambles, it shows that a preamble can fulfill a certain function. The preambles of the various countries are very different, but mainly they state the history of past struggles and the achievements already accomplished. They state the purpose of founding the state, set forth the objectives of the state's aspirations, clearly lay down the fundamental principles for the country's activities, determine the aim of the constitution, etc. All these topics are difficult to express in the concrete legal provisions of the constitution and therefore easier dealt with in the form of a preamble. Whether a country's constitution requires a preamble and what the preamble is to say, always depends on the national characteristics and the actual experiences of the country in question, while reference may also be made to the experiences of other countries, weighing advantages and disadvantages before adopting or rejecting items from other state constitutions.

2. The overwhelming majority of countries place the basic rights and duties of the citizens before the state structure (which includes legislation, administration and judicial organization), and only in the constitutions of a very small minority of countries are the basic rights and duties of the citizens placed behind the state structure. For instance, among Asian countries it is only China, Burma and Mongolia, among African countries only Guinea and Kenya, and in Europe only Poland, Hungary, Norway and Ireland, who place the basic rights and duties of citizens behind the state structure. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the content of the constitutions is arranged in the following order: preamble, social institutions (including political institutions, economic institutions, science, culture, education, etc.), the basic rights and duties of citizens, the principles of organization, powers and activities of the state's legislative, administrative and judicial organs, the constitutional guarantees and the revision of the constitution. Generally speaking, it is much more appropriate to place the basic rights and duties of the citizens before the state structure. Speaking of the socialist countries in particular, the people are the masters of the state, all powers of the state belong to the people and all state organization is set up on the basis of democracy and for the purpose of serving the people. This makes it more logical to place the basic rights and duties of the citizens before the state organization.

3. The overwhelming majority of the 150 constitutions have special sections regulating constitutional revisions or amendments. Many countries (such as France, Italy and Yugoslavia) provide constitutional guarantees in special sections of their constitutions, that is, stipulations which guarantee the enforcement of the constitution and how to deal with infractions of the constitution. This goes to show the great attention paid by many countries to protecting the authority of the constitution.

The three constitutions that our country has ratified (in 1954, 1975 and 1978) have been more or less of the same structure. All consisted of a preamble and four chapters: general principles, the state structure, the basic rights and duties of citizens and a chapter on the national flag, national emblem and the capital. The comprehensive revision of the present Constitution deserves our serious attention so that we can render our country's Constitution logical and compact in its composition, and rational in its overall arrangement; in order to realize an integration of a correct and substantial content with as perfect as possible a form.

[3 Nov 81 p 5]

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "The Completeness of Constitutions--Learning About Constitutions," VII]

[Text] The completeness of a constitution does not altogether depend on its length. One must not assume that very long constitutions are therefore bound to be complete, and short ones incomplete, but the length, number of articles and words can be to some extent relevant to the completeness of the constitution. If the length of a constitution is inadequate, it cannot possibly contain all the provisions that a perfect constitution should contain.

According to statistics, of the 142 written constitutions at present in force in the world, 10 have over 36,000 words and 20 have less than 5,000 words. The average length of all the 142 constitutions is 15,900 words. The 3 constitutions adopted by our country since liberation are of about 9,100, 3,300 and 7,100 words, respectively (also counting punctuation marks). This is very much below the world average and definitely has an influence on the degree of completeness of our constitutions. In fact, many required items have not been written into our Constitutions, and some that have been included were not sufficiently specific, clear, detailed and thorough. If a country like ours, with so large a territory and population, is left without a fairly rich, substantial, detailed and perfect new constitution, it will find it difficult to suit itself to the needs of the four modernizations. Our new constitution which is being drafted must be longer than the previous three constitutions; that is absolutely necessary.

The content of constitutions at present in force in some of the capitalist countries are loaded down with trivial details and are extremely cumbersome. This is a headache even for those in power in these countries and is an erroneous tendency that we must avoid. The constitution is the basic law and provisions that are to be taken care of by ordinary laws must not be written into the Constitution. When the Soviets drafted their Constitution in 1936, some demanded that particular questions of insurance operations and certain concrete problems of the establishment of collective farms be written into the Constitution. Stalin thought these suggestions wrong and said: "Those who propose these revisions do not seem to understand the differences between questions that the constitution is concerned with and questions that ordinary legislation is concerned with. It is precisely for this reason that they try hard to incorporate these laws into the constitution, transforming the constitution into a veritable legal code. But the constitution is not a legal code. The constitution is the basic law and nothing but the basic law." ("On the Draft of the Soviet Constitution") Moreover, questions in which we have but insufficient experiences must be handled in an appropriately general way and not in too specific

a manner, and relevant provisions must not be too concrete. However, in view of the historical experiences of building up our legal system and in view of the present needs, what we must avoid is the mental tendency to regard as superior a constitution that is too simple, expresses only general principles and is as abstract as possible. The major problem that we are now facing in our work of revising our constitution is to render the new constitution rich, substantial, detailed and complete.

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CS0: 4005/208; 4005/219

PARTY AND STATE

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PENG PAI TO PEASANT MOVEMENT EXTOLLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Cai Luo [5591 3159] and Liu Linsong [0491 2651 2646]: "Comrade Peng Pai's Contribution to the Theory of the Peasant Movement"]

[Text] The "Collected Works of Peng Pai," edited by the Propaganda Department of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and published by the People's Press, is a valuable document to help us understand and study the thought of Peng Pai.

Comrade Peng Pai, one of the important leaders during the formative period of our party, was a pioneer in the peasant movement in our country. He pointed out over half a century ago that to believe in Marxism is not as vital as to drive for the realization of Marxism. The "Collected Works of Peng Pai" is a true record of his dedication to the realization of Marxism in China and his contribution to the theory of the peasant movement, for which he gave his life.

Peng Pai was exposed to various schools of thought when he was a student in Japan. He began to accept Marxism after he had studied works such as "The Communist Manifesto," and he became very interested in studying the peasant problem. Not long after his return from Japan in May 1921, he joined the Chinese Communist Youth Corps. When he was appointed director of education for Haifeng County [Guangdong], he attempted to launch a social revolution through education. He was removed from office the following May because he had provoked the opposition of the landlords and the local gentry by organizing a student demonstration to celebrate the international "May Day." The setback drove his attention to the peasant problem. He then decided "to go to the villages to organize peasant movements." With indomitable revolutionary resolve, he immersed himself in the villages to stir up and organize the peasants. The emergent Haifeng peasant movement, which clashed violently with the feudal landlord class, marked the beginning of peasant movements not only in Guangdong but also in the nation as a whole. Peng Pai offered many penetrating observations on the peasant movement in this particular period. He said that 80 percent of the peasants were semi-owner-peasants and tenant farmers. They, especially the tenant farmers, were the victims of exorbitant feudal land rents and usury. The peasant problem in reality was their problem. The peasants were extremely "hostile" toward the landlords. This class hatred, however, was only a revolutionary potential, "not yet a class consciousness conducive to class struggle." It would take propaganda and organization based on advanced ideology to raise their class awareness.

He pointed out that it would take a "social revolution" to topple the old society, and such a revolution "cannot be achieved by an individual or a number of individuals." "Nobody can deny the might" of the peasants, who represent the great majority of the population and "the principal producing class." The peasant movement was a social revolution in the villages. It would take both an urban labor movement and a rural peasant movement, not just a labor movement alone, to achieve a social revolution.

To him, the peasant movement was a kind of class struggle involving "both economic and political struggle." The economic struggle had to win real material benefits, better income, and improved living conditions for the peasants in order to strengthen and consolidate a base of the peasant movement. The political struggle would aim at opposing imperialist aggression on the one hand and oppression and rule by the landlords, warlords, powerful gentry, and bureaucrats on the other. It had to make "the gentry and local tyrants hand over political authority in the villages to the peasants' union, which then should work to gain control of the overall authority." These two forms of struggle would "enable the peasants to get experience in economic struggle and be prepared for the seizure of political power."

Some comrades in the formative years of the party realized the need to "awaken" the peasants, but very few had as profound an understanding of the peasant problem as Peng Pai. He wrote again and again to Chen Duxiu and the responsible head of the Youth Corps Central Committee about his own personal observations and the peasant movement in Haifeng. In his letter to the responsible head of the Youth Corps Central Committee dated 24 January 1924, he recommended that the party and the Youth Corps "try to get more comrades to the villages." The theory and practice associated with Peng Pai's peasant movement in Haifeng and Lufeng [counties] helped the party to understand the importance of the peasant problem in the Chinese revolution.

After coming to Guangzhou in April 1924, he held several important positions, including those of member of the Guangdong Regional Party Committee and head of its peasant committee, secretary to the Kuomintang Central Peasant Department, and head of the Peasant Department of the Guangdong Provincial Party Headquarters. He participated actively in establishing the Guangzhou peasant movement training institute to bring up core cadres for the peasant movement. He toured all over the Dong Jiang region, Chaoyang, the Xi Jiang region, and northern Guangdong in order to organize and launch peasant movements throughout the whole province. This contributed significantly to the establishment and consolidation of the Guangdong revolutionary base. While engaged in revolutionary activities, Peng Pai in many ways enriched and evolved the theory of the peasant movement.

He proposed arming the peasants. After the general peasant union of Haifeng had been dissolved by the county government, he realized even more the need to arm the peasants, and he became firmly convinced of this need as the peasant unions of Guangning and Huaxian [counties] were repeatedly attacked by the landlords' militia. In a report he prepared at Guangning on 5 December 1924 for the peasant committee of the Guangdong Chinese Communist Regional Party Committee, he made it very clear that "our work will not achieve the expected results unless we give weapons to the peasants to organize their armed forces." He pointed out later, in a letter he wrote to the XIANGDAO weekly: "The peasants must be armed, and the problem confronting the peasant unions is that they must have their own armed forces." Peng Pai was convinced that the most formidable obstacle facing the peasant movement in Guangdong was the Kuomintang rightist faction and the armed militia of the landlords. The only way to overcome this obstacle was for the peasants to have their own armed forces--a peasant self-defense army. Supported by the Guangdong revolutionary government, each of the peasant unions in the province finally had its own peasant self-defense army. By

April 1926, the peasant self-defense army in Guangdong had reached a total of more than 30,000 men. This armed peasant force was the backbone of the armed uprisings in various parts of Guangdong when Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the revolution.

At this critical stage of the revolution, Peng Pai highlighted the seriousness of the peasant problem and the rightist trend within our party in dealing with it. After the center of the nationwide peasant movement had moved to Hunan along with the Northern Expedition, the landlords, gentry, and militia in the villages of Guangdong launched an all-out attack against the peasant unions in Guangdong. Peng Pai, who realized that the national revolution was "facing a serious crisis," proposed that, in order to tide over the crisis, the national revolution should "shift its struggle from the cities to the villages" to support the peasant movement, arm the peasants, put down the counterrevolutionary forces in the villages, and weed out the strongholds of the warlords. Otherwise, "the national revolution will sustain another defeat." Refuting criticisms leveled at the peasant movement from within and outside the party, Peng Pai said the allegations that the peasant movement had been too radical was an intrigue by the reactionaries to discredit the revolution.

He reached Wuhan in March 1927 to become a member of the Interim Executive Committee of the National Peasant Union and concurrently its secretary general. He was elected a member of the Central Committee at the Fifth Party Congress.

When Chiang Kai-shek launched the counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai, Peng Pai was in favor of turning the peasant movement into an armed peasant uprising. In his article "Land Revolution," published on 30 October [1927], Peng Pai explicitly stated the need to arm the workers and peasants to launch an armed uprising and a land revolution. After the triumph of the third armed uprising in Haifeng-Lufeng, he led the establishment of the Haifeng-Lufeng soviet government and put land revolution into practice.

Peng Pai of course made mistakes in his work at this juncture. Influenced by leftist ideology, he proposed "killing all the local tyrants, malicious gentry, big landlords, corrupt officials, and warlords." When he realized the grave consequences of this approach, he voluntarily amended it.

Peng Pai came to Shanghai in the winter of 1928 to serve as secretary of the Central Peasant Committee and secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial Military Committee. Summing up his experiences in the struggle of the Haifeng-Lufeng soviet and at the Dananshan operational base, he commented in his speech at the Central Politburo and in his written proposal, "An Outline of Work for Tenant Farmers," on the need for the peasants to accept the leadership of the proletariat and on the problems of the worker-peasant alliance. He believed that the Chinese revolution at that time was a capitalist-oriented democratic revolution. Its "success requires the proletariat to lead the peasants to overthrow the existing government and confiscate the land of the landlords." The proletariat must have an ally--the peasants, especially the village tenant farmers. To foster the education of the peasants, the proletariat should make use of propaganda and educational work in order to sharpen the class awareness of the tenant farmers "to overcome the bourgeois ideology of the middle peasants and the conservatism or reactionary propaganda of the wavering rich peasants, and to weed out the influence of feudalism ideology, provincialism, and

clannishness among the peasants." He believed armed struggle to be the only form of peasant struggle. The poor and tenant farmers should lead the struggle against the Kuomintang and the warlords, but the party organization should be actively developed during the struggle.

The multifaceted theory of the peasant movement which Comrade Peng Pai derived from his revolutionary practice is a rich heritage he has left us.

5360

CSO: 4005/139

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE NOTES IMPEDIMENTS TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 81 p 4

[Commentary by Fang Wen [2455 5113] in "Miscellaneous Chats on Study" section: "Criticizing Liberalization and Eradicating 'Leftist' Influence"]

[Text] Leftist ideological influence is the main impediment in carrying out the construction of the four modernizations. To thoroughly cast off the leftist constraint in our practical work is a long-range, formidable task. Precisely because of this, some comrades feel puzzled about our present criticism of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and struggle against erroneous words and deeds endangering the four basic principles. They are worried: Will this dilute or hamper our efforts to eradicate leftist influence? These comrades have put criticism of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and eradication of leftist influence in opposition to each other.

Since the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has in a thoroughgoing manner, drawn a clear demarcation with leftist ideas in the matter of our guiding ideology. But in our practical work, leftist influence still remains deep-rooted. Since people have long lived in a leftist environment, they are quite used to the leftist stuff; once we attempt to break through such a leftist constraint, some tend to view this effort as heretical and try their best to stop us. Are there still not to this day people who seek imperviously to reproach the various production responsibility systems being carried out in the countryside? When Li Erzhong [2621 1422 6850], secretary of Hebei Provincial Party Committee and provincial governor, recently summed up the causes for the backwardness of industrial production this year in Hebei Province, he mentioned among others that one was "lack of adequate criticism of the left" and failure to eradicate in the light of actualities the leftist influence that had long prevailed in our economic work. This shows that it is by no means a light and easy job to carry out struggles against leftist ideas and remove the leftist constraint and influence.

But, at the same time, we must also take note of another situation that has emerged, namely the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. This is none other than the erroneous tendency of vainly attempting to deviate from the party's leadership and the socialist course. Along with the rolling current of our ideological liberation movement, there are bound to be various ideas rushing down like fish together with dragons, and mud together with sand. For quite a while now, some people have, through such forms as writing articles, presenting literary and art works, or speeches, been using the criticism of particularization and devious work styles as a

pretext to slander and detract party leadership, uglify the socialist system, and talk about the party and socialism as if nothing is right about them or that they are completely worthless. Such liberal expressions have dazzled many people, especially inexperienced young people who lack historical knowledge, and great confusion has been created in people's minds. They have served to relax people's fighting will, erode people's confidence in the future, and affect people's sense of full devotion in engaging themselves in the enterprises of construction of the four modernizations. With respect to these expressions, we must take them lightly and think little of them; we must carry out in a forthright manner powerful criticism and necessary struggle against them.

The problem today is that some comrades see only the impediment of leftist ideas but do not fully comprehend the tendency of bourgeois liberalization as such an impediment in respect to the construction of our four modernizations. We may put it this way: Leftist ideas and the tendency of liberalization are two sides of the same thing and they harm the four basic principles in different aspects. For instance, the practice of letting the party organization monopolize and take the place of everything, and having all matters, big and small, wait for the party committee to crack the whip, has resulted in the party no longer having any time to pay attention to the ideological education of party members themselves and thereby has seriously weakened the party's leadership. This is an impediment to the party leadership from the leftist side. On the other hand, the inclination toward liberalization simply trumpets the need to cast off party leadership and thereby results in a threat to the party leadership from the rightist side. Hence, whether it is a question of criticizing the tendency of liberalization or criticizing the left, the purpose is consistent, that is, it is for better adherence to the four basic principles so that the construction of our four modernizations can proceed smoothly. We must further eradicate leftist influence in our guiding ideology and at the same time guard against rightist deviation. We must oppose in both the left and the right, whatever there is to oppose. We can neither tolerate the free spread of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization just because we need to continue to eradicate leftist influence in our practical work, nor can we overlook the influence of leftist ideas just because we wish to oppose the tendency of liberalization. The leftist guiding ideology once led our revolutionary cause astray, and our memory still remains fresh about the relevant painful experience and lessons. But the tendency of bourgeois liberalization is also liable to bring great danger to our cause; this is an undeniable fact that can hardly be overlooked. Therefore, it is entirely necessary to carry out criticism and struggle against liberal expressions. Of course, such criticism and struggle must seek truth from facts and convince people by persuasion; they must treat people with sincerity, and help others through such critical conduct whose purpose is to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to help people and unite people and, unlike Lin Biao and the "gang of four," definitely not to persecute people and subject people to destruction.

9255

CSO: 4005/175

ARTICLE REVIEWS DEBATE OVER CLASS NATURE OF LAW

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 81 p 5

[Article by Hao Ru [3185 1172]: "The State of the Debate Over the Class Nature of Law"]

[Text] The class nature of law is a basic problem in Marxist theory. At this time, when our country has just entered a new stage in its historical development, some comrades in jurisprudence have presented different viewpoints on this question and submitted them for debate. They are mainly the following:

1. The socialist law in our country consists of two parts. One part concerns the entire society; it has no class nature, and one part relates to the class enemy; it has class character.

Comrades who hold this view believe that law is not the product of class struggle and also has no relation with the state. The customs of a primitive society are the laws of that time. As Engels said, when he described conditions of primitive societies: "The very strict rules that prevailed at that time," ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 40) are proof that law existed before the existence of classes and states. Once law came into being, there was litigation and jurisdiction. Of course laws of that period had no class character.

After mankind entered the phase of class society, the ruling class used law to oppress the classes over which they ruled. One part of the laws became norms of a dictatorial nature for class oppression; the laws became tools in the class struggle. Another group of laws "constituted norms of a universal nature governing social life in general;" they were without class nature. Our country's socialist laws reflect, in part, the will of the working class, but other laws do not, for instance the Environmental Protection Law. Laws of this kind benefit not only the working class.

This viewpoint involves the interpretation of the basic principles of Marxist jurisprudence and has a bearing on the kind of ideology that is to guide the elaboration of our country's socialist law. It is therefore the subject of controversy.

2. A second view is held by comrades who believe that our country's socialist law can only be the expression of the will of the working class, cannot be an expression of the will of the working class, and even less be "norms of universal nature governing the social life in general." Their main reason is: The system of public

ownership established in our country is a concentrated manifestation of working class interests. Law created on this foundation can only express the will of the working class. Moreover, the leading position occupied by the working class in our country's political system and the overall leadership of the Communist Party of our society, also determine our country's law and will allow it to be only the expression of the will of the working class. To say that our country's "law expresses the will of the broad masses" is not scientific and not exact.

3. Some comrades who do not agree with the first viewpoint, and also not completely with the second viewpoint, believe that our country's socialist law is the expression of the will of the working class as well as of the will of the broad masses.

Comrades who hold this view take note of the fact that our country is a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on a worker-peasant alliance. The character of our political system determines the character of our country's law. After the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, all patriotic elements in our country, socialist workers, peasants, intellectuals and other supporters of socialism, are all masters of the socialist society. These comrades, therefore, believe that it would not conform with present day reality in our country if the socialist law were only to represent the interests and the will of one class, the working class.

Comrades who hold this view emphatically expound as their reasons for not agreeing with the first viewpoint, that law comes about at the same time as states are created and private ownership and classes come into being. Class nature is the innate character and attribute of law. The customs of the primitive societies are not law and have no class character. Customary law is one kind of unwritten law, but one must not equate custom and customary law, and even less regard custom as the same thing as law. The "strict norms" that Engels mentioned when he spoke of the primitive society, do not refer at all to law. Primitive society had no laws, no law courts and of course nothing like "litigation and jurisdiction."

After mankind reached the class society stage, there was absolutely no law at all that would "reflect the interests and demands of the entire society." As to the Environmental Protection Law, the relationship of man to his environment is a relationship of man to nature. However, once the demand for protection of the environment is fixed in law, it is not merely a reflection of the relationship of man to nature, but also of the relationship of man to man.

It becomes, therefore, no different from other laws, an organic part of the entire legal system. Therefore, it is not correct to look merely at the outer surface of a problem and completely deny the class character of laws of this kind.

After some discussion, comrades who held the second viewpoint believe: "Our country's socialist law is an expression of the will of the working class and at the same time represents the basic interests and the revolutionary will of the broad masses under the leadership of the working class, or, one may say, it is the expression of the will of the broad masses headed by the working class. In this way, the view of the second and third category are basically one and the same.

PARTY AND STATE

DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IMPORTANCE TO POLITICAL LIFE REVIEWED

OW271521 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, November 27 (XINHUA)--China's democratic parties play an important role in the country's political life and socialist construction.

Ever since their establishment, the eight parties have cooperated with the Communist Party. They have taken an active part in consultation on the country's policies, raising suggestions and criticisms.

Suggestions concerning national agricultural development, wage increases, prices and the national economic readjustment have often been adopted.

The China Democratic League, the China Association for Promoting Democracy and the Jiu San Society, whose members are mostly educators, have made more than 4,000 proposals on reform of the educational system.

Many former industrialists and merchants in the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce have made more than 300 suggestions, of which 120 have been adopted.

Many members of the democratic parties are well educated and possess much practical experience. In the past, they have presented professional reports and lectures. The parties administer 76 spare-time schools for workers, catch-up schools for young people who missed their education during the Cultural Revolution, and more than 120 skill-enhancement classes for professionals. These schools have graduated more than 50,000.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and China Zhi Gong Dang also help run collective economic enterprises, which employ 52,000 young people. Other parties sponsor consultancy services in the fields of construction planning, engineering techniques, enterprise management, personnel training, scientific and health work.

The democratic parties maintain broad contacts among the Chinese compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad. Members of these parties and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce help arrange their relatives and friends in Hong Kong, Macao or abroad to come on lecture tours or for academic exchanges. Much has been done for the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and China's reunification.

PARTY AND STATE

HAINAN URGES HALTING LEADING CADRES' EXTRAVAGANCE

HK010938 Haikou Hainan Regional Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Report: "The Masses of Dan County Demand Stopping the Unhealthy Trend of Holding Extravagant Feasts and Restoring Fine Traditions"]

[Excerpts] In the past 6 months, the practices of celebrating special occasions, being extravagant, feasting and accepting gifts has been very common among some leading cadres of the party and government in Dan County. The masses have strongly demanded a halt to this unhealthy trend.

A shocking example known to the whole county was how deputy secretary Ye of the county CCP committee took a wife for his son. On 2 September this year, deputy secretary Ye conducted his eldest son's marriage. The bride lived less than half a kilometer away from his home, yet deputy secretary Ye sent for a Beijing jeep and a Toyota car for the occasion. Of course, he did not have to pay for the gasoline or for renting the cars. The cars were decorated with red ribbons and bouquets of silk flowers. The guests swaggered through the streets and firecrackers were set off. The deputy secretary considered the wedding arrangements unexcelled, but the masses looked askance at the wedding and were indignant. Some people jeered at it saying, "After all, county officials are resourceful. Their sons ought to share what they have!" In the evening, a feast with over 60 tables laid was held to entertain over 500 guests.

Those in subordinate positions have followed the example set by their superiors. In the past few months, more than a dozen leading cadres at levels of the Standing Committee of the county CCP committee, departmental CCP committees, offices and bureaus have held feasts on special occasions at which scores of tables were arranged to entertain guests. These people have the power in their hands. They purchased chickens, pigs, cigarettes, wine and food through signed notes, through the help of their friends and through entering by the back door. Their subordinates have followed their example and this practice has been rampant.

The variety of special occasions has been increasing continuously. Among them are marriages of sons and daughters, parents' birthdays, babies' 1-month birthdays, births of grandchildren, children's first birthdays, children and

grandchildren's going to school or enrolling in universities and colleges, sons' joining the army, children's securing jobs, children's changing jobs, the laying of house foundation stones, housewarmings, and so on.

The scope of guests invited has also been very extensive. All kinds of people are included--relatives, friends, colleagues, former fellow students, people of the same ancestry, people of the same hometown and so on.

The practice of holding special feasts and accepting gifts in Dan County has become so common that cadres, staff members and workers whose incomes are small and who have a lot of people to support get worried at the mention of a special occasion.

At present, New Year's Day and the Spring Festival are approaching. It is a busy season for weddings and feasts. The masses have repeatedly requested the newspapers to urge the public to halt this unhealthy trend and to learn from Guangzhou in organizing collective weddings which are economical and help to establish a new social custom in line with the party's fine traditions.

CS0: 4005/237

PARTY AND STATE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CPPCC GIVEN

OW281245 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 28 Nov 81

["Background Information: Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, November 28 (XINHUA)--The fourth session of the fifth national committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference opens here this afternoon.

The conference plays an important, ongoing role in the direction of Chinese political life.

The CPPCC is a united front 2,051-member body under the leadership of the Communist Party. Its national committee comprises representatives from the Communist Party, the nine democratic parties, people's organizations, national minorities, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and returned overseas Chinese and specially invited people.

In May, 1948, 16 months before the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese Communist Party proposed a national political consultative conference to handle state affairs. The first plenary session of the CPTCC was held in Beijing in September 1949. It exercised power of the National People's Congress, the nation's legislative body not yet in being adopted a program, which became the foundation of the country's constitution, and elected Mao Zedong chairman of the central people's government of the People's Republic of China. The formal founding of the People's Republic was October 1, 1949.

When the first national people's congress convened in 1954 to adopt the constitution, the CPPCC ceased to function as an instrument of state power.

Its modern tasks are to consult on issues of political life, economy, culture, education and the united front, a term for the alliance of the Communist Party with the democratic parties and all China's people in the struggle to build a strong and prosperous socialist country.

The national committee of the CPPCC has 14 departments under it. They oversee such areas as economy, science and technology, culture, education, medicine and public health, the legal system, religion, nationalities affairs and overseas Chinese. In the last year, they have submitted proposals for draft laws, the trial of the "gang of four," education, protection of historical relics and the marriage law.

They have also arranged inspection tours of the country for more than 260 committee members, who, as a result, have made 50 proposals for rural economic policies, environmental protection and changes of energy resource structures.

The organization has also, in the past year, sent three delegations to Yugoslavia, Romania and the United States.

Many national committee members are veterans of major events in China's modern history. They have written more than 1,500 articles on contemporary history.

Membership in the national committee was raised to 2,051 at the third session of the Fifth CPPCC National Committee in August and September 1980, 70 percent more than at the fourth national committee session in 1966.

Mao Zedong was chairman of the first CPPCC national committee. Zhou Enlai was chairman of the second, third and fourth national committee until his death in 1976.

The current chairman of the Fifth National Committee is Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the CCP Central Committee.

CSO: 4000/26

PARTY AND STATE

NPC HOLDS PRELIMINARY SESSION

OW290318 Beijing XINHUA in English 0310 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, November 29 (XINHUA)--A preliminary meeting of the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress was held in the Great Hall of the People here this morning.

The meeting was presided over by Peng Zhen, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

The meeting elected 270 deputies to form the Presidium of the current session. It also elected Yang Shangkun secretary-general of the session.

The deputies approved an agenda suggested by the 21st meeting of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress for the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

The preliminary meeting also approved the following:

--members of a committee to examine motions at the NPC fourth session, with Luo Qingchang as chairman;

--Xi Zhongxun as chairman of the bills committee of the Fifth National People's Congress;

--Puncog Wangje (Tibetan) as vice-chairman of the nationalities committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, and

--Zhu Xuefan as vice-chairman of the credentials committee of the Fifth National People's Congress.

The fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress is to open tomorrow.

CSO: 4000/26

PARTY AND STATE

AGENDA OF 4TH SESSION OF 5TH NPC REPORTED

OW292021 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1511 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--Agenda of the fourth session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China--approved by the preliminary meeting of the fourth session of the Fifth NPC on 29 November 1981

1. Report by Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, on the current situation and future economic construction policies;

Main points of the 1982 economic and social development plans (in written form);

Adoption of a resolution on the report on the current economic situation and future economic construction policies.

2. Report by Minister of Finance Wang Bingqian on the final state accounts for 1980 and on the implementation of the financial estimates for 1981;

Adoption of a resolution on the report on the final state accounts for 1980 and the implementation of the financial estimates for 1981.

3. Explanation by Peng Zhen, vice chairman of the Commission for the Revision of the Constitution, of a proposal to extend the time limit for completing the revision of the constitution;

Adoption of a resolution on postponing the examination and approval of the draft revision of the constitution.

4. Report by Vice Chairman Yang Shangkun on the work of the NPC Standing Committee and explanation by him of several draft laws;

Examination and approval of the economic contract law of the People's Republic of China (draft), the foreign enterprise income tax law of the People's Republic of China (draft) and the civil procedure law of the People's Republic of China (draft);

Adoption of a resolution on the work report of the NPC Standing Committee.

5. Report by President Jiang Hua on the work of the Supreme People's Court;

Report by chief procurator Huang Huoqing on the work of the Supreme People's Procuratorate;

Adoption of a resolution on the work reports of the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate.

6. Proposal by the State Council on launching a movement of voluntary tree planting by all the people;

Explanation by Forestry Minister Yong Wentao;

Adoption of a resolution on launching a movement of voluntary tree planting by all the people.

7. Election matters.

8. Other matters.

CSO: 4005/237

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG PREFECTURE AIRS PARTY WORK STYLE PROBLEMS

HK300715 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The Foshan Prefectural CCP Committee recently held a meeting attended by members of the committee's Standing Committee, deputy directors of the commissioner's office, and secretaries of county CCP committees, to seriously analyze the economic and political situation in the prefecture. The conference decided on five measures to deal with current unhealthy trends in the economic field, and resolved to improve party work style and further enliven the economy in the prefecture.

Generally speaking there has not yet been a fundamental turn for the better in party work style in the prefecture. Unhealthy trends exist to a very serious degree among certain cadres in some places. Some cultivate under-the-counter relationships and buy up materials in bulk in order to make huge profits. Some people use their powers to pass goods on to speculators in society, for which they take bribes. In external economic dealings, they extort gifts and payment and even organize internal and external collusion, perverting justice for bribes. They use their powers to occupy collective land, use commune and brigade manpower and transport equipment without payment, or for low payment, and illegally take possession of building materials to build private houses for themselves or their sons and daughters, and so on. These unhealthy trends have seriously damaged the party's prestige, sabotaged party-masses relations and had a bad effect among the masses. The prefectural CCP committee has decided to take the following measures to improve party work style:

1. Leading cadres must act as honest officials and set a good example. They must also dare to struggle against unhealthy trends.
2. Launch education in observing law and discipline.
3. Deal promptly and severely with violations of law and discipline and unhealthy trends.
4. Set up rules and regulations and institute strict controls.
5. Put the discipline inspection organs on a firm basis and strengthen the building of the discipline inspection force.

The prefecture has now launched work to rectify the party work style.

CSO: 4005/237

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTIES--Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--The first meeting of the Presidium of the fourth session of the Fifth NPC today approved a report by the credentials committee on the status of deputies and examination of credentials of by-elected deputies. It agreed with the credentials committee's opinion and affirmed the credentials of 25 NPC deputies by-elected during the period between the third and fourth session. The by-elected deputies are as follows: Beijing Municipality: Ma Yaoji, Wang Kaimou, Feng Jiping, Li Shu and Jiao Ruoyu; Liaoning Province: Chen Puru; Heilongjiang Province: Wang Luming and Ni Wei; Shaanxi Province: Shi Yizhi; Qinghai Province: Zha-xi-wang-xu; Anhui Province: Zhou Zijian; Zhejiang Province: Li Fengping; Fujian Province: Ma Xingyuan, Xiang Nan, Cai Li and Wei Jinshui; Hubei Province: Lin Musen and Li Qi; Guangdong Province: Liang Lingguang; Sichuan Province: Li Manying, Zhang Decheng and Pan Dakui; Yunnan Province: Sun Yuting and Li Guiying, and Xizang Autonomous Region: Yang Dongsheng. [Text] [OW292126 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1528 GMT 29 Nov 81]

GUANGXI DISCIPLINE INSPECTION CIRCULAR--The discipline inspection committee of the Guangxi Regional CCP Committee recently issued a circular on the matter of the Nanning cannery withholding profits from the state. The circular demanded that discipline inspection departments and financial organs at all levels conduct a financial discipline inspection of the state-run enterprises and resolutely struggle against tax evasion and withholding profits from the state to ensure the successful progress of the four modernizations. The circular said that since 1978, the Nanning cannery has withheld profits of some 3.8 million yuan from the state. This cannery spent 1.723 million yuan of the profits withheld from the state on capital construction and overhaul, seriously violating the financial system and discipline. When the issue was exposed, the cannery CCP committee and leading cadres concerned came to understand their mistake. The circular pointed out that the malpractices of tax evasion and withholding profits from the state will exist in some enterprises in this region. Leaders at all levels must pay close attention to the malpractices and resolutely correct them. The circular demanded that party organizations and leading cadres of all enterprises strive to fulfill their quotas for production and for submitting profits to the state for this year. [HK140820 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Nov 81 HK]

NATIONALITIES COMMITTEE MEMBERS--Beijing, 29 Nov (XINHUA)--List of additional vice chairman and members of the nationalities committee of the Fifth NPC--approved by the preliminary meeting of the fourth session of the Fifth NPC on 29 November 1981. Vice chairman: Puncong Wangje (Tibetan); members: A-mi (Monggol) and Jin-xue-wen (Jingpo). [Text] [OW292212 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1520 GMT 29 Nov 81]

HUBEI IDEOLOGY, CRITICISM MEETING--According to a report published in WENXUE BAO today, the Hubei Provincial CCP Committee recently held a provincial discussion meeting on problems on the ideological front which participants made serious but appropriate criticisms and self-criticisms. The meeting made realistic criticisms of Bai Hua, author of the film story "Unrequited Love"; (Ye Wenfu), who wrote the poem "I Hate You, the Imperial Palace"; (Gao Huailin), who wrote the poem "This Generation"; and other comrades. Comrade (Zhang Zuwei), who wrote "Oh, Elders and Brethren!" and Comrade (Xiong Zhaozheng), who wrote the poem "Please Stop It by Raising Your Hands Like a Forest," made sincere self-criticisms at the meeting. Their self-criticisms were well received by the comrades present. At the meeting many comrades objected to the behavior of some persons in the literary and art circles in Beijing who failed to seek opinions of localities in evaluating (?new poems) and awarded some works which had been criticized locally. [Text] [OW270922 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Nov 81]

CSO: 4005/237

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHORT STORY MENTIONS GUIDED MISSILE BASE

Beijing ZONGGUO QINGNIAN in Chinese No 17-18, 1981 pp 37-39

[Fictional work by Liu Hongwei [0491 1347 0251] of a certain PLA unit: "Woman Officer From Distant Mountains"]

[Excerpts] Going To Complete a Rose-Colored Mission

She came from distant mountains in the south. Lying in concealment there is a modern guided missile base. It can be said that this place is one which the world fixes its eyes upon, even if in reality not many people know about it. Judging by her artistic talent, figure, and family, it seems that she should spend her life on a theatrical stage spread with a red carpet, in a quiet and refined laboratory, or in a big city of tall buildings. Who would have thought that this frail young woman would mature into a full-fledged woman officer at a heavily guarded launching site, where there is the echoing sound of the launching company commander's and bugler's orders and the roar of propellant refueling, and where she receives praise or blame from the base commander for her weather forecasts... She has simply been brought up with the "smell of gunpowder."

Where Is The "Point" of My Tangent?

On the Feijun Mountains at this moment there is a misty light in the sky; fog and clouds like silken gauze buoyantly float from one place to another, quietly touching the wind vane, radar antenna, and huge launching platform. But in this big city in the eastern most part of the motherland, at the front and back of alleyways are the sound of commodes being rinsed, the roar of rolling motor vehicles, and the clash of all sorts of utensils, which already have disturbed countless sweet dreams. Frowning, Ding Lu got out of bed and put on a pale blue dress, combed her hair and washed up quickly, and, carrying a book in her hands, went out on the balcony. This was the stage in which she and little lei would thoroughly study the book "Meteorological Records of the Feiyun Mountain Range." The purpose of her return to the city this time was to copy down meteorological reference materials.

On a military map scaled 1:100,000, the Feiyun Mountains are no more than a grain of wheat, but a grain with prickles. All of a sudden, they will give birth to huge black, gloomy-looking CB [sic] clouds and sharp swirling winds without a fixed direction, which rudely block the passage of aircraft and upset the overall plans of the launching site. In the eyes of military meteorologists, the weather condition fair, cloudy, snow, or rain on every day of every month of every year carries either a "question mark" or an "exclamation point." These bits of historical information can often guide a weather forecaster to put a satisfactory "period" to today's

weather forecast. The "Meteorological Records" is a "museum" in which are stored a million such bits of information! But at present there is no "museum" of this kind on the Feiyun Mountains. As a weather forecaster, she was conscience-stricken! At the same time she wanted to give her plan a try. What was annoying was that many people shook their heads in disbelief when they heard of her "grand project." Of course, this was not because they lacked confidence in her professional ability. The problem was that for anyone to merely copy the accumulated 50-year reference materials on the weather of the Feiyun Mountains, which stretch over eight counties, would be like peeling Chinese-brand "HB"! Not to mention the compilation and proof-reading involved.... Would one girl have the patience to do this? Ding Lu is a stubborn person who gets to the bottom of whatever she does. Her answer was to quietly "peel a big boxful of Chinese-brand 'HB'." Only when little Lei had offered to work in cooperation with her was she moved to open wide her eyes in amazement. Little Lei said to her: "Some people are forever pursuing goals. They will do anything in pursuit of their own professional values, in pursuit of whatever their undertaking requires...." Oh, this descendant of the old hunters correctly said what was in her heart! Amazed, the young woman officer couldn't stop her heart from thumping....

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CSO: 4005/155

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NORTH SEA FLEET PROVIDES CLASSES ON MAO'S WORKS

SK271134 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 26 Nov 81

[Text] The North Sea Fleet has provided study courses on the resolutions adopted at the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee for cadres at or above the regimental level in an effort to further clearly define the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought, and to organize commanders and fighters to study Chairman Mao's works.

In the training classes, the fleet has concentrated on the key point in the resolutions, the fact that efforts should be made to build up and safeguard the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. The fleet has concentrated its study courses on summing up and studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's theory on appraising Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. The courses have also concentrated on reviewing modern Chinese history, the CCP's history and the 32-year history since the PRC's founding, particularly the achievements scored since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in conducting military training and creating a socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. Through holding the study classes, the fleet has further proven that there can be no development of the Chinese revolution and socialist construction without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In holding the study classes, the fleet has also organized participating cadres to discuss ways to successfully study Mao Zedong's works. They have held that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" indulged in formalism and stressed that turning more pages meant studying more and writing a skillful reading report might promote technology. Now, we stress that only by earnestly studying the stand, viewpoint and methods of Mao Zedong Thought can our thinking and actions be properly guided. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also indulged in pragmatism, stressing getting instant results, but we stress that remolding one's world outlook depends on improving one's way of thinking and work.

As of now, almost all cadres at or above the regimental level throughout the North Sea Fleet have been trained in these rotational study classes. A large number of leading cadres have returned to their units to actively take the lead in studying Chairman Mao's works and to strengthen the party's leadership over study work in this regard.

The party committee of a certain division recently sponsored an experience-exchange meeting on studying Mao Zedong's works and commended the advanced units and individuals that have emerged in the study campaign. At present, the various units under the North Sea Fleet have basically restored the studying of Chairman Mao's works.

CSO: 4005/238

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TAIYUAN ISSUES NOTICE ON REGISTRATION OF WEAPONS

HK280327 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] On 23 November, the Taiyuan Municipal Public Security Bureau issued a notice on a decision to thoroughly check up on and register the firearms, ammunition and explosives used for nonmilitary purposes in Taiyuan Municipality. The notice says that all pistols, rifles, submachine guns, machine guns, all kinds of firearms used in sports shooting and hunting, shotguns, flintlocks, guns used to tranquillize animals, airguns, and all kinds of ammunition which are used by the nonmilitary systems must be checked and registered, regardless of whether they are used by units in performance of official duties or issued to individuals for their own use. It is also necessary to check up on and register the explosives, including all kinds of dynamite, detonators and fuses, which are manufactured, stored, transported, sold and used without the approval of state departments concerned.

The notice says that the checks and registration will begin on 1 December 1981 and end on 31 January 1982. The departments in charge of all organs, organizations, universities, colleges, factories, mines, enterprises and units in Taiyuan Municipality must check up on their firearms, ammunition and explosives and register them in the inventory according to type. They must send reports to the municipal public security bureau, county and district public security bureaus or public security subbureaus of which they are under the jurisdiction. All provincial subordinate units must send reports to the municipal public security bureau.

The notice points out that all firearms, ammunition and explosives which have been privately borrowed or given; unlawfully manufactured, bought or sold; or left in the hands of individuals must be surrendered to local public security bureau, police stations, county and district public security bureaus and public security subbureaus, and the defense departments of their units within a month from the date of the notice. Those who do not surrender them after the specified date or who willfully hide or transfer them must be investigated and seriously dealt with.

The notice demands that the masses actively help public security organs implement its provisions. Everyone has the right to inform, disclose and seize and hand over to public security organs those who privately possess or privately carry firearms, ammunition and explosives. Those who render meritorious service in helping with the collection of firearms, ammunition and explosives must be commended and rewarded. Those who sabotage the check on firearms, ammunition and explosives or take revenge on informers and disclosers must be dealt with according to law.

CSO: 4005/238

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

SHANDONG PLA PLANTS ELEVATED--The provincial people's government recently issued a circular stating that plants managed by PLA units stationed in Shandong Province which have sound leading bodies, fixed products, an independent accounting system and certain accumulation will be elevated to units enjoying collective ownership at and above county and district levels with the approval of political and logistics departments at and above division level, local administrative offices and municipal people's governments. After the elevation of ownership, the plants will still be guided by the PLA units. When recruiting workers, these plants will give priority to children of military servicemen. [SK131154 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Nov 81 SK]

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION--According to GANSU RIBAO, leading organs of the Lanzhou PLA units are improving environmental sanitation as a breakthrough in building a spiritual civilization. The military barracks have changed beyond recognition and have been praised by local patriotic public health campaign committees. Since organs under the direct control of the CCP Central Committee restored the practice of cleaning up the environment on weekends in early September, leading comrades of the Lanzhou PLA units have attached great importance to the practice, urged on many occasions that organs under the Lanzhou PLA units learn from the central organs, begin by improving environmental sanitation in building a spiritual civilization and set a good example for military units. All units have taken immediate action to improve environmental sanitation. At the same time, they have helped clean up the environment the first weekend of every month and on holidays. Commander Du Yide and first political commissar Xiao Hua have often joined the masses in carrying shovels and brooms to clean up garbage. According to incomplete statistics, leading organs of the Lanzhou PLA units have sent out 10,000 persons to clean up the environment in the past month or so. With their hands, cadres of the leading organs have improved the phenomena of disorder and filth. In the barracks, all windows are spotless, tables are clean and things are in good order. On the streets, everything is clean, even tidy, many units have been commended as advanced units of the army. [Text] [SK290744 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 27 Nov 81]

CSO: 4005/238

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIRD NATIONWIDE CENSUS DISCUSSED

Beijing TONG JI [STATISTICS] in Chinese No 2, 10 Jun 81 pp 11-15

[Article by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3843]: "Nationwide Census--A Large-Scale Investigational Study on the Basic Condition of the State"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council have decided to carry out the third nationwide census on 1 July 1982. This follows the 1953 and 1964 censuses but will be on a larger scale and much richer in content; and it is also a large-scale investigational study which will allow us to better adjust the national economy and carry out the four modernization constructions. At present, the comrades of statistical departments and every related department are complying with the demands raised by the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council, carrying out each item of preparatory work under the leadership of the party committees and government at every level and working hard in order to complete successfully this floruous and formidable task. But, because our nation has not carried out a census for many years, there are a small number of comrades who feel surprised, estranged and confused. For example, one comrade asks: "Now we are concentrating our energies on adjusting the national economy, a task which is very arduous; won't carrying out a census at this time affect our work of adjusting the economy?" Some comrades ask: "Every year we have population statistics; why must we expend resources and manpower on a census?" Still other comrades say: "At present, the census is still more than a year away; why must we rush to prepare? When the time comes all we need to do is to send out some people to count heads." In order to unify ideological understanding and to guarantee that the census work is done well, it looks as though it is necessary to offer some explanation concerning the tremendous significance and the special characteristics of this census and the present need for preparation.

The Tremendous Significance of the Third Nationwide Census

Related documents of the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council indicate: "This census has tremendous significance regarding our carrying out quickly and economically socialist modernization construction in accord with our actual situation, controlling population growth in a planned manner and doing well in arranging for the material and cultural life of the people." We should seriously appreciate the profound meaning implied in this.

A population census, which is also called a general survey of the conditions of the state, is a full-scale investigation of the various basic conditions of the state which takes the population as the focus. Everyone knows that man is the primary ingredient of social production. A specific population is the basic element constituting a state. Because of this, census data is fundamental data necessary if the state is to carry out its administration and direct economic development. Census data is even more important if our socialist state is to have planned development of production and is to work hard to raise the level of the material and cultural lives of the people. After the October Revolution, Lenin indicated: "I remind you again, a nationwide census remains an extremely important state task. I suggest you carry it out with resolute speed."* At the personal urging of Lenin, they implemented the first Soviet census in 1920.

Our country is a socialist state with a population of nearly 1 billion, including 800 million rural residents. This is the fundamental condition of our state. Nearly 1 billion people makes it clear that the population of our nation is very large, encompassing one-fourth of the world's population; a rural population of 800 million makes it clear that in the basic composition of our nation's population and economy the agricultural proportion is very large, and this is an expression of the relative backwardness of our nation's economy and culture; but on the other hand, the superior socialist system makes it possible for us to develop our economy in a planned way and gradually to escape our backward situation. All though and action which departs from the actual situation of our nation will inevitably be stymied in the face of facts. For a long time now the mistaken ideology of the "left" has existed in our economic work. We demanded quick results, were onesided in our quest to reach high targets, large accumulations and high speed, and were onesided in emphasizing heavy industry, and so we traveled a road with many twists and turns and did tremendous damage. That result cannot be divorced from our lack of a clear understanding of the basic national conditions of our state. Now, we want to proceed with the adjustment of our national economy and liberate ourselves from the fetters of the mistaken ideology of the "left"; we want to follow a new road in developing our national economy, one which is built on the foundation of a stable economy; we want to establish medium and long-range plans which allow for economic development and for the development of the population. All this requires a large amount of comprehensive data gathered by means of a census which will allow us to further clarify the situation of our social economy.

For example, how large, after all, is our population? How large are the birth rate, death rate, and the natural rate of growth? What is the situation as far as numbers of males and females in each age group and their marital statuses and child-births? This census will allow us to reach accurate figures for each of the aforementioned items and will provide us with important data so that we can establish plans for economic and social development, including population planning.

And, how much manpower does our nation have? What is the state of urban and rural manpower? What are the sizes of the employed and unemployed populations? This census will clarify the distribution of the labor force of the entire nation, clarify the sex, age and cultural level of the labor force, and clarify the unemployment situation. This will be very advantageous in regard to solving labor employment problems in coming years, successfully handling unemployed personnel and fully utilizing our nation's abundant labor resources.

*"Lenin Talks About Soviet Statistics," Statistical Pub Co, 1958 ed, p 14

And what is the situation regarding the distribution of the labor force among departments and various professions? What is the breakdown by sex, age and cultural level of the labor force of each department? If we want to build a stable economic structure which follows a healthy cyclical pattern and which corresponds to our national situation, then we must first consider the distribution of the labor force in each department and in the various occupations. This census will clearly determine the distributional situation of our nation's labor force for each of the aforementioned items and will supply basic data which will allow us to distribute reasonably the labor force and gradually construct the most superior economic structure.

And what are the sizes of each of the minority populations of our country at present? What are their present birthrates, deathrates, cultural levels and labor force distribution? Since 1964 we have not fully investigated the situations of our minority populations. This census will fill in this gap and will supply us with data to help us correctly implement the party's minority policies, further arrange for the autonomy of the minority areas and develop the economies and cultures of the minority peoples in accordance with their differing situations.

Whether we speak in terms of the country as a whole or regarding individual provinces, municipalities, autonomous areas, localities and counties, this census has great significance. Each area must make its own economic arrangements and solve the problems of supply of goods, housing, transportation, culture, education, sanitation and environment for its people, must draw up its own plans for each item of work and must make use of the census to clarify the size of the population and related conditions in its own area.

From this it can be seen that the census is an urgent necessity if we are to be clear about the basic condition of our nation's population and matters related to the population, and if we are to begin with our nation's actual situation and do a good job in adjusting the economy and in the four modernization constructions. It is not something which we can take or leave, and it is even less an added burden.

Routine population statistics cannot take the place of a census. Routine population statistics are dynamic statistics concerning the state of the population. The items covered are relatively few and, because of limiting conditions, the accuracy of the figures is never sufficiently high. A census is a static statistical picture of the condition of the population. Only by means of a census can we thoroughly and accurately grasp static figures for the population as a whole, as well as a vast amount of data relating to the population. Moreover, this data will test the accuracy of the routine population statistics. It can be seen that routine population statistics and a census both have their own special characteristics and functions, and neither can take the place of the other.

Censuses and population statistics are the primary elements of social and economic statistical work. This census will be an education for statistical cadres. During this period of education, statistical cadres can, in practice, truly study how to use investigational research to establish census proposals and standards for various categories, how to establish work plans and procedural rules for each item of work, how to do a good job of promotion and mobilization for the census and to arouse and rely on the masses in order to do well in the survey and recording work, and how to carry out qualitative sampling surveys and calculate margins of error; how to code data, enter data and utilize computers to tabulate data, etc. This

will have tremendous value in terms of learning from the lessons of others and also great reference value in regard to carrying out later surveys, including industrial surveys, agricultural surveys, commercial surveys, surveys of conditions in the realm of nonmaterial goods production and in our work of gathering routine statistics. This census will serve an important function in raising the level of our nation's statistical work.

The Special Characteristics of the Third Nationwide Census

The first and second censuses of our nation were great accomplishments which gave us valuable experience. But due to changed circumstances this census will have several new characteristics in comparison with the first two censuses, the main three are:

First, the scale of the census is larger. At the time of the first census (1 July 1953), our nation had a population of 601,930,000. At the time of the second census (1 July 1964), our nation had a population of 723,070,000. At the end of 1980 our nation's population was 982,550,000 (not including Taiwan Province), and by 1 July 1982 the population will have further increased. This kind of large-scale census is unprecedented both in the history of our nation and in the history of the world.

Secondly, there are more items in this census. In addition to the categories of name, sex, race, cultural level, etc., included in the first two censuses, this census is preparing to include marital status, childbirth situation, the departmental and occupational compositions of the employed populations, the population situation of those not employed (such as students in school, children under 7 years of age, retired employees, the number of unemployed looking for work, and household laborers), etc. According to the present pilot proposal, there are 20 items in all. For an entire population of 1 billion this means 1 billion "20's," an immense volume of data! It will require a herculean effort to gather this tremendous amount of data.

Thirdly, we will be using computers to manage the vast amount of data from the census. Using modern computer technology to manage the census data is not only accurate and quick, but moreover, we can accomplish several extra tasks that would be very difficult to do by hand. We can, in accord with the needs of research analysis, carry out various categorical breakdowns and cross-category comparisons. One 20 item census form, by means of a computer, can be compiled into upward of 100 different important statistical tables and organized into statistical data comprising tens of thousands of pages. But using computers to handle the census data is complicated organizational and technological work. It demands that we purchase, install and test computers, program the necessary software, train the needed technical personnel, and also that we establish categorical standards, create various binary codes, and see to it that the design of and filling out of the census forms meet the necessary requirements so that they can be handled by the computers. And we lack experience in all these particulars.

The special characteristics mentioned above make it clear that the scale of the third nationwide census will be tremendous, the material content will be abundant, and the demands will be strict. This census will be an intricate and detailed bit of survey research work that will involve every household and every individual in the nation. It demands that we build upon the foundation of the experience gained in our past 2 censuses and raise the census work of our nation to a new level.

In order to meet the special characteristics of the third census, every census worker should meet high standards and strict demands for scientific attitude, apprehensive caution and painstaking care in their work. In this census work, from promotion and mobilization, through survey and recording, and on through the handling of data, the organizing of the analysis and the printing and publicizing of results, every step of the work must, upon the foundation of arousing and relying on the masses, be done accurately, rigorously, precisely, in a generating way and without overlooking anything. If any step is not complete, it could affect the quality of the census data and even lead to serious errors. Comrade Mao Zedong said that strategically we should disdain difficulties, but tactically we must stress difficulties. This principle is appropriate in our census work. In pilot census work, some localities have had the experience of running into these kinds of questions: Are the demands of this census high or low? Is the task difficult or easy? Is the work general or detailed? We must solve this basic problem of understanding before we can guarantee the success of our census work. In order to grasp the initiative in our work we must make difficult and strict demands. In this way we will meet with fewer problems, and those that we encounter will be more easily solved.

In order to conform to the special characteristics of the third census, every census worker must humbly study and be good at studying. Each one must clearly understand the strong points and the weak points of our census. Our strong points are: We have the strong leadership of the CCP and the people's government; we have the skills and the cooperation of the broad masses; we have relatively complete systems of household management and routine population statistics; etc. But, we also have a number of weak points, for example: Our economy and communications are not well developed, our levels of culture and scientific technology are relatively low, and our financial and material resources are limited; our past censuses have been few, irregular, and widely spaced so that our experience is relatively limited; we do not have the computer equipment and technical personnel on hand, and have no experience in using computers to handle such a vast amount of data, etc. During the third nationwide census we must develop our strong points and compensate for our weak points, and must resolutely study those things with which we are unfamiliar and those things which we do not understand. We must learn from the experiences of our first two censuses; we must undertake pilot programs and learn from the masses and from practice; and we must also learn lessons from the advanced experiences of those beyond our borders. Census taking has a world history of more than 190 years [sic]. In regard to the good experiences of other nations we must adopt an attitude of "taking a close look," first understanding them and then making use of what we learn in accord with the actual situation of our nation, and in this way "putting foreign things to work for China." This is an important condition for raising the level of our census taking ability.

Take the Pilot Programs of the Census To Be the Key--Work Effectively on Every Item of Preparatory Work

Whether or not we are able to do a good job with this census depends first of all on how we prepare. Since July of 1980 we have made some preparations, including the work of the pilot programs carried out in Wuxi City and in Wuxi County in Jiangsu Province. But, the beginning of work in each prefecture has been uneven and is far from adhering to the demands of objectivity. There remains just over

a year until 1 July 1982. Time is pressing if we want to do a large amount of precensus preparation in this short a period. According to the spirit expressed by the Central Committee of the CCP and the arrangements made by the Conference of Census Section Chiefs of each province, municipality and autonomous region held not long ago, at present we need to consider that the key is doing well in the pilot survey programs, and to grasp the following several items of preparatory work:

First, make precise plans for the census work. "In all cases, that which is planned will succeed, while the unplanned will fail." This census is an inter-related endeavor which involves numerous departments, many types of work and many operational steps. Before the actual work begins we must have detailed, precise and workable plans if we are to tie up all loose ends, to make all connections step by step, to work systematically and without confusion, and to avoid leaving gaps and working at cross purposes. In general, the primary items of work in preparation for the third census include the following: (1) the building and perfecting of census organizations at every level; (2) the carrying out of pilot programs; (3) the drawing up of methods and the establishing of work guidelines for the census (each area supplying data and ideas); (4) the gradual transmission and arranging of plans; (5) the work of promotion and mobilization; (6) the checking up on households; (7) the material preparations; (8) the construction of a storage area for the census data; (9) the preparation and testing of the computers; (10) the training of census workers at every level; and (11) the establishing and testing of coding standards. These are general categories of work. Each general category includes several smaller items of work. Each area must satisfy the demands of the national headquarters, coordinate the situation in its own area and, through repeated discussion, establish concrete plans for that area, clearly establishing the unit or person responsible for each item of work, setting the dates for initiation and completion of work and, moreover, regularly inspecting matters to see that everything is carried out.

Secondly, do well in carrying out pilot programs. This is the central link in census preparation. This census will meet with several unfamiliar problems which we do not understand. We must gain direct experience through the pilot programs. By doing well in the pilot surveys we can discover methods, discover specific guidelines, gain experience, and develop cadres, and we can promote the construction of computer centers and the understanding of computer technology. Pilot programs can first be carried out at the provincial level, then at the county level; at the provincial level we can first carry out small-scale pilot programs, and then try some on a larger scale. The pilot surveys must include all steps to be taken in the census, from the initial preparation and survey recording, right down to using computers to manage the data; carry out analysis and print a report in keeping with the stipulated tabulation tables. Only in this way can we learn from the pilot surveys the entire set of skills needed for the census and not just a part of them. This method of carrying out pilot surveys which get successively larger, just as a snowball gathers layer after layer of snow, at first glance would seem to waste a lot of manpower and material and financial resources. But actually, by carrying out pilot programs we can avoid the twists and turns that might appear later on in our census work and so can save even more manpower and material and financial resources. And it will help us take the initiative in all of the work. Only by doing well in the pilot surveys can we do well in all the census work.

Thirdly, do well in the work of checking on households. By checking on households, being clear on the actual situation of the long-term population, verifying that the

household records correspond to the long-term population, making the necessary corrections and proofing the numbers for each household, it will be easier to draw the lines between census areas and to grasp the number of households and the names of the heads of households to be used as reference material.

Fourthly, effectively perform the work of promotion and mobilization. The present focus of promotion and mobilization is clearly on explaining the tremendous significance, special characteristics and demands of the census to the broad cadres and on unifying their ideological understanding in accordance with the related documents of the Central Committee of the CCP and the editorial article in the RENMIN RIBAO of 25 March of this year, "A Population Census is Needed For Economic Adjustment and the Four Modernization Constructions." If the understanding of cadres at every level is raised, then we can better mobilize the masses and do a good job in this work. In the pilot survey areas we should use every method and every form of promotion (including slides, songs, kuaiban storytelling [storytelling in which wooden clappers are used to tap out a rhythmic beat], comic dialogues, song and dance skits, etc.) to bring the message to the broad masses and to see to it that every family hears and every individual understands, so that this work will enjoy the support and cooperation of the broad masses and cadres.

Fifthly, grasp well the construction of computer centers. This is the technological guarantee of the completion of the third census and is also an important element in the march toward modernizing our census and statistical work. Each area must, in accord with plans, complete period by period and section by section the construction of housing for its computer center and supply needed components through the purchase of equipment. And each must complete the work of installing and testing equipment and must supply and train technical personnel. This will be the first time that our nation has employed computers in its census, and some of the computers have been supplied by the United Nations. We must study arduously to become familiar with the capabilities of the equipment, to grasp calculating skills, and to achieve, in a timely fashion, results from the processed data, but first we must, in a timely fashion, achieve results from the data processed during the pilot surveys in order to benefit the masses and win glory for the state.

Sixthly, we must fill out and perfect census organizations and form a core of rationally efficient and steady professional troops. This is the organizational guarantee of the successful completion of the census. The content of this census is complex. It is a highly specialized task. It will take a relatively long time to carry out. It requires the assignment of capable cadres and complete and perfected census organizations. The cadres of the census organizations at every level must coordinate the pilot programs, seriously study, and strive to grasp the work in a relatively short period of time. Only by having such a professional core can we do a good job of training and directing the army of several million census takers who will do the survey recording in 1982 and only then can we see to it that the organization and the level of professionalism of each item of work will meet the projected requirements.

The strengthening of leadership on the part of the party committees and the people's government at every level is the key to doing a good job in the aforementioned work. Related documents of the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council indicate: "The party committees and the people's government at every level must place a high degree of importance on complete and detailed preparation

to guarantee that this matter is done well." Under the leadership of the party committees and the people's government at every level we must single-mindedly work together, earnestly study, make complete and detailed preparations and successfully complete the third nationwide census.

Our nation is the most populous in the world and was one of the first to carry out a census. Not even mentioning the population figures of the legendary "Yugong" era; but just starting with credible historical materials, as early as the second year of the Yuanshi reign of Emperor Ping of the Western Han, which was 2 AD, there was already a fairly complete statistical figure.* This is a sidelight to the glorious history of the Chinese people. But in the last 100 years, due to imperialist and feudalism oppression and exploitation, our nation has fallen into backwardness. Not long after the new socialist China was established, we carried out the first nationwide census and achieved great results; later, we carried out the second nationwide census and achieved further excellent results. But the 10 years of unrest created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" disrupted the political and economic development of our nation and the census and population statistics work. In comparison with some of the developed nations of the world, we are below standard in many aspects of our census work. We are deeply aware of how formidable and complicated the task of carrying out this census is. But, we have the strong leadership of the CCP and the people's government, the support of the superior socialist system and the broad masses, the experience of the two previous censuses and of the pilot programs of Wuxi and other areas, and when we add to this the material support and help in related areas of the United Nations, we can certainly overcome the difficulties on the road ahead and step-by-step achieve a victory in the third nationwide census.

*A reference to "Diwang Shiji" in the "History of the Later Han, Commentary on the Junguo Zoning" sets the figure for China's population in the Yu era of the Xia Dynasty at 13,553,923. The "History of the Han, Commentary on Geography" indicates that in the 2d year of the Yuanshi reign of Emperor Ping of the Western Han there were 12,233,000 households and 59,594,978 people in China.

PROPER WORLD OUTLOOK ESSENTIAL IN CREATIVE WORK

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 8 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Tian Wei [3944 3555]: "Creative Work and World Outlook"]

[Text] The relationship between creative work and world outlook is an important problem that older revolutionaries and artists have often used to teach and admonish us. But today there are some comrades who do not understand the educational value of a world outlook for creative work in the arts, and they believe that reconstructing a world outlook is irrelevant. Because of this, it is necessary to renew the dialogue on this issue.

In reality, authors and artists are not all "outcasts" severed from society, transcending their times. They and the masses alike live on this globe and both develop fixed relationships and connections with the surrounding environment, both need a basic way of looking at natural and social phenomena. Moreover, this basic way of looking at things also usually decides the direction of their works. Because of this, we say that the world view of authors and artists has a definite role throughout the creative work movement.

Lu Xun [7627 6598] was both a great man of letters and a great communist warrior. He made outstanding contributions to both our country's revolutionary and literary affairs. His brilliant combative fiction and various other types of writings always conveyed intense basic emotions, humorously, ferociously, and sharply satirizing the realities of his time, ruthlessly exposing the essential character of imperialist aggression, and striking deeply into the traitorous character of the Kuomintang's reactionary government. These works are brightly colored banners in which the basic emotions are unambiguous, and in them his masterly style of writing unites ideological and artistic character, so that even today his works stir people to action. The story of how Lu Xun studied Marxism-Leninism and seriously reconstructed a world view is always a popular topic within literary circles and has become a model from which to learn. The contemporaries of Lu Xun--Hu Shi [5170 6684], Xu Zhimo [1776 1807 2302], and Liang Shiqiu [2733 1395 4428]--enjoyed empty reputations for a time which in the end lasted only for a short time. They were like the light of a lightning bug: just a flash and they were gone. It is worth our serious consideration to note that Lu Xun and Hu Shi both arose abruptly during the "4 May" movement period. Both were well-known figures in the New Culture movement. Although each followed the trends of the time, they each took different paths so that their works also clearly proceeded differently and their vicissitudes were different. The origins for this situation lie in the prior development or lack of development of their respective world views.

Because the world views of various authors and artists are not the same, a similar theme, a subject described in the same way, might manifest totally different political tendencies. This phenomenon is often seen in the works of both ancient and modern literature. Shi Naian's [2457 5082 1658] "Shui hu zhuan" [Water Margin] and Yu Wanchun's [0358 5502 2504] "Dang kou zhi" [Record of Suppressing the Bandits] both use the peasant movement of the Northern Song as their material, but the political tendencies of the two works are diametrically opposed. Shi Naian supported the leader of the peasant uprising Zhang Shicheng and sympathized with the peasant revolution; therefore, in "Shui hu," filled with patriotic fervor, he sings the praises of the leaders and heroes of the peasant revolution, incisively exposing the corrupt, cruel and avaricious souls of the landlord class and their seriously criminal actions, molding many colorful individuals and lifelike heroes of Liangshan, making this an untarnished work to be passed down through the generations. The author of the "Dang kou zhi," Yu Wanchun, as a youth had joined his father in the bloody suppression of the peasant revolution, soaking both hands in the blood of the peasant revolutionaries. Therefore, he stands among the reactionary landlord class and gives a completely distorted portrayal of the heroes of Liangshan as "traitors and villains," slanders them as "evil and violent," and provides for their exit only executions; on the other hand, all those executioners who suppressed the peasant movement are described as "brave gallants" who exhibited "unparalleled loyalty and righteousness" and "unmatched bravery." The two works show two directly opposed political tendencies and vividly reflect the two authors' fundamentally opposed world views. It can be seen that for the revolutionary a progressive world view can help the author or artist essentially to understand life and reflect reality, while the retarded and reactionary world view usually causes the writer or artist to distort life and deny reality. Because of this, the question of a writer's or artist's world view is of the utmost importance for creative work and must not be taken lightly.

People have asked how the great French author Balzac, who was a monarchist, and the great Russian author Tolstoy, who was a faithful follower of Jesus and promoted nonviolence, could write the likes of "Old Man Goriot," "Resurrection," and "War and Peace," which are judged to be realistic works. We should see that Balzac and Tolstoy lived in an era full of marked social contradictions; the environment in which they lived was historically extremely confused. These extremely complicated conditions and contradictions could not help but be reflected in the world view of Balzac and Tolstoy, and the contradictions in this world view must necessarily be reflected in their works. But Balzac's world view, and even more so Tolstoy's, are replete with complicated contradictions so that at the same time there are reactionary and progressive aspects, with the two kinds of factors coexisting, so when the good occupied the dominant place then they were able to write the likes of "Old Man Goriot," "Resurrection," and similar good works; when the bad dominated then they wrote the likes of "The Country Doctor" and the "Kreutzer Sonata."

When we say that in creative work the world view gives rise to the decisive factor, which is to say the tendency of the work, we cannot also say that it is the only useful factor. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Politics is not the same as art, the usual universal view is also not of a class with the methods of creative work in the arts and criticism of the arts." Because of this a successful author or artist not only needs to have a world view that is completely progressive and revolutionary but, at the same time, also one that is solidly based in life, the long-term and short-term seeking of artistic perfection, as well as the fundamental achievement of artistic work. If one lacks these conditions, then he will be unable to write works of excellence.

Now we are in the midst of constructing an era of modernization, a high degree of democracy, and a strong and cultured socialist nation. Writers and artists, together with all those working in literature and the arts, need to reflect accurately this type of fully, decisively changed era and to serve the people and socialism well; if they are to be worthy of assuming the role of the soul of mankind, they must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, they must strive to reform their world view and thus show even more its importance. We must especially point out that Mao Zedong's ideas on literature and art are an important part of his thought. Mao Zedong's brilliant work "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." after 40 years of practical experience prove that his fundamental principles were correct and are still today the guiding concepts for developing our country's socialist arts. Naturally, in the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the key point is to grasp the Marxist-Leninist position, point of view, and method and to make use of them in studying new situations, resolving new problems, and, as a result, accurately and artistically to reflect our times, molding the new socialist man. We certainly must consciously reconstruct the subjective world, endeavoring to create with a clear conscience works for our great age, making cultured contributions to the construction of the socialist spirit.

9504

CSO: 4005/96

CRITICISM, PRAISE AMONG WRITERS VIEWED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 81 p 3

[Commentary by Shi Jin [4258 6855]: "Real 'Kind Regards'"]

[Text] "Men of letters are used to despising one another," this, according to Cao Pei of the Three Kingdoms period, "has been the case since antiquity." It looks as though it really has not had a very short history. But, at present, another vulgar trend--"men of letters being used to applaud one another"--seems to be growing in the literary circles. This cannot but remind me of the passage in the article "Scold to Death and Applaud to Death" by Mr Lu Xun: "The fault of a critic lies in scolding at random and applauding at random.... Today few are scolded to death, but many are applauded to death." The present era is different from Lu Xun's day; but insofar as the "applauding" situation is concerned, there is still some similarity.

Applauding appears in many forms. One of these is: When a certain author and his work are subject to relevant criticisms, some people, out of other than a motive, proceed to send "upholding letters" and "supporting letters" to him and thereby applaud him into feeling muddle-headed and lightheaded, mistakenly thinking that these are "kind regards" being extended to him; and he thereby takes correct literary and art criticisms as "sticks."

Criticism and self-criticism are part of our party's fine traditions and workstyles. Socialist democracy in art and literature is a democracy that advances in the midst of literary and art criticism and self-criticism. Those who are criticized must analyze their "upholders" and "supporters." Some people are blind; they would be of no help to the criticized. Some people in their own thinking empathize with those criticized; their "upholding" and their "support" are not meant to help the criticized wake up but rather with cheap words of applause instigate in them an insistence that mistakes and criticisms be rejected. Some people are even enemies; if your enemies are applauding you and you still feel elated, would that not be like equating yourself with your enemies? Let us see how Lu Xun coped with "applause": In 1937, a Trotskyite wrote a letter to Lu Xun, praising his wisdom. Seeing this ill-intended applause, Lu Xun sent a letter back and gave that Trotskyite a scolding. When an author becomes subjected to criticisms and then people send him letters of applause, he should, like Lu Xun, maintain his clear thinking and carry out serious analyses. Naturally, only a few among those who applaud him are bad people, the majority of the applause has to do merely with the question of perception. But these comrades fail to understand that literary and art criticism should include two aspects:

affirming a work's achievement and also pointing out its defects and mistakes. Unprincipled "applause" not only has nothing to do with kind regards but even constitutes great harm. On the other hand, principled criticism based on seeking truth from facts alone, constitutes genuine, comradely care, or kind regards. A really helpful friend should timely and sincerely point out your defects and mistakes to you once he sees them so as to assist you in perceiving such mistakes and correcting them. On the other hand, if a person avoids talking about your defects and mistakes or vulgarly smooths over and supports or even praises them, then this kind of friend is definitely not a helpful one.

The unwholesome habit of "men of letters being used to despising one another" needs to be eliminated; similarly, the vulgar style of "men of letters being used to applaud one another" also needs to be discarded. We should promote "men of letters being used to befriending one another" and "men of letters being used to loving one another." Such "befriending" and "loving" are established on the basis of adhering to principles and on the new type of relationship between man and man in a socialist society. Only these are real "kind regards."

9255

CSO: 4005/179

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COLLEGE GRADUATES MUST BE EDUCATED TO SERVE MOTHERLAND

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Short commentary: "Do a Good Job in Ideological Education of This Year's College Graduates"]

[Text] The 1977 class of college students have one more school term before they complete their studies. An important task in this college semester of institutions of higher education is to really get a tight grip on and do a good job in the ideological and political education of these students so that all of them will consciously comply with their placement by the state and cheerfully go to their assigned work posts.

This class of graduates is the first one since the reform of our country's enrollment system. Whether or not they consciously comply with the placement not only has a direct bearing on whether or not the work of placing this class of graduates is smoothly carried out, but will also have an effect on the work of placing every subsequent class of graduates. Therefore, it is of particularly important significance to do a good job in the ideological education and the placement of this class of graduates.

The carrying out of the ideological education of graduates must closely revolve around the central question of the correct placement of graduates. The "Resolution" and the main contents of the general and specific policies since the Third Plenary Session of the [11th CCP] Central Committee must be studied and integrated with the ideological reality of the graduates, stressing their education in maintaining the four basic principles and their education in the ideals and future of the revolution. Through this education they will truly understand that this generation of youth shoulders a heavy historical burden so that they will consciously give priority to the needs of the party and the people, and will go to the basic level, to places where conditions are difficult, and to places where the motherland needs them most and contribute to the fiery youth's cause of constructing the four modernizations in the motherland.

As early as the first school term, some colleges began to provide ideological education for this class of graduates, obtaining marked results. For example, the graduates of some colleges separately wrote letters and pledges to the college party committees, expressing their determination to serve the needs of the state by volunteering to go where the motherland most needed them and where conditions were most difficult. Many students, on their own initiative, applied for jobs in Xizang

and other border areas. Twenty-four Communist Party members of the class of 1977 studying history at Sichuan University jointly wrote a letter to the university's party committee, which says "As Communist Party members who are firmly determined to struggle all our lives for the cause of communism, when a conflict occurs between the individual's immediate interests and the party's long-term interests, or when a contradiction occurs between the individual's desires and the state's and people's requirements, we are unconditionally determined to subordinate ourselves to the motherland's requirements and the party's placement of us." This shows that our college students have high aspirations and high awareness. As long as the leaders pay attention to carrying out patient and meticulous work with regard to the students, the students will subordinate themselves to the motherland's requirements.

Many members of this class of graduates are fairly old and many are married and have children. Some of their parents are old and infirm and have no one to take care of them. The graduates hope that when they are being placed, their parents can be properly cared for by organizations. This is perfectly understandable. Therefore, when carrying out the ideological education of these graduates, the colleges must conduct thorough investigations and research on the actual problems of some of the graduates, find out the true situation and know what's what, so that when the students are placed in the future, it can be decided in a comparatively satisfactory manner which persons, in line with the party's policies and the prevailing conditions, can be given suitable consideration and which persons should overcome their difficulties and subordinate themselves to the state's placement of them. As for those who repeatedly press their individual demands and are deliberately provocative, they must be criticized and educated; endless concessions cannot be made to them. If they engage in unhealthy tendencies such as trying to get their demands met "through the back door," they must be firmly restrained.

9727

CSO: 4005/109

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REPORT CALLS FOR PROPER PLACEMENT OF 1981 GRADUATES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Do a Good Job in Placing and Using This Year's Graduates"]

[Text] 27 September, Beijing [XINHUA]--The State Council on 19 September issued a report of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education, the State Labor Bureau, and the Scientific and Technical Cadres Bureau of the State Council entitled "Report on the Question of Placing 1981 Postgraduates and Graduates of Colleges and Polytechnic Schools," exhorting localities and departments to strengthen their leadership so as to do a good job in placing and making use of this year's graduates.

In issuing this report, the State Council points out that postgraduates and graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools are an important force in the construction of the country. Doing a good job in the placement and use of talent has important significance for promoting the readjustment of the national economy and the construction of modernization. The departments and the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions must strengthen the responsible departments, and the higher schools must do a good job in the ideological education of this year's graduates.

The State Council stresses that in the placement and use of this year's graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools, stress must be put on strengthening the front line of production. After the graduates arrive at their work posts, their employing units must be concerned with their political and professional progress so that they will be tempered by reality, continually improve, and rapidly mature.

In 1981, the total number of postgraduates and graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools was over 290,000. The report of the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Education, the State Labor Bureau, and the Scientific and Technical Cadres Bureau of the State Council calls upon the departments and the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to act in accordance with the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the policy of readjusting the national economy, to plan arrangements as a whole, to distribute nationally, to strengthen key sectors, to take weak departments into account, and to replenish the teaching staffs of schools and the technical forces of factories and mines. With regard to graduates suited for teaching posts, priority consideration must be given to the needs of the institutions of higher education, so that step by step they replenish the teaching staffs of trade union and vocational schools and of polytechnic schools. Stress must be put on strengthening the light and textile industries, the energy resources, communications and transportation departments and

newly formed departments, as well as departments in which specialized talent is comparatively weak. Suitable arrangements should be made to make available the talent needed for the application of science and technology and the dissemination of new technical results in the service of production and construction. With regard to the critical gaps and "short lives" in large-scale engineering projects and complete teams of specialized talent, the graduates must provide the necessary replacements.

The report raises the point that the placement and use of this year's graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools must be geared to the basic level needs, strengthen the frontline of production, and pay attention to the requirements of medium-sized and small enterprises. The past situation in which the placement of graduates on the production side was small in number and deficient in quality should be changed. Based on requirements, graduates in the relevant specialities must be assigned to work in collectively owned units and rural areas so that, step by step, they strengthen the technical forces in collective economic units. Scientific, technological and specialized knowledge must be taught to the peasants so that they will contribute more of their strength to the promotion and development of agricultural production. Regarding schools in the interior which have salaried staff, workers and servicemen among their students, and graduates enrolled in the schools from border areas or minority nationality areas, in general, these students and graduates should be assigned to jobs in their original areas or within their military unit system.

The report stresses that leadership over the work of placing graduates must be strengthened. Each responsible unit must coordinate closely, cooperate with, and jointly do a good job of placement with the relevant sector. Good ideological and political work must be carried out among the graduates, organizing them to study the documents of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and calling upon the graduates to learn from the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, to carry on and display the party's glorious traditions, and to contribute their strength to socialist construction. At the same time, a good job must be done with regard to the parents of the graduates; cadres at every level, particularly the party's leading cadres, must mobilize and support their own sons and daughters so that they will comply with the state's placement. Strict discipline must be observed and unhealthy tendencies must be curbed.

9727

CSO: 4005/109

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW RULES SET FOR JOB PLACEMENT OF 1981 COLLEGE GRADUATES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "New Conditions and New Specifications for Job Assignments for This Year's College and Polytechnic School Graduates"]

[Text] 28 September--XINHUA reporters recently interviewed members of departments of the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education which are responsible for the job assignments of graduates, and found that for this year's graduates of college and polytechnic schools there are some new circumstances and new specifications.

According to the responsible persons in charge of job assignments for graduates, this year there are more graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools than in any year since New China was founded over 30 years ago. There are over 800,000 such graduates throughout the country, including over 11,000 postgraduate students of colleges and universities and of scientific and research units, and there are over 160,000 college undergraduates, over 100,000 professional school students, and over 500,000 polytechnic school students.

Through a preliminary survey it has been determined that this year the various departments and provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions require over 1 million graduates of colleges and polytechnic schools, including over 520,000 college graduates, almost double the total number of college graduates this year. The general situation is that demand for graduates exceeds supply by a considerable margin. However, there is a great imbalance in the makeup of the professional skills, for most of which demand exceeds supply but for some of which supply exceeds demand. Of this year's college graduates, demand exceeds supply in about 330 specialties, which are short of 190,000 people; supply exceeds demand in over 150 specialties. Those specialties in which the gap between high demand and low supply is quite large are to be found in politics and law; in finance and economics; in the engineering fields of geology, mining, kinetics, electromechanics, construction, light and textile industries, foodgrain, transportation and communications; and in forestry and foreign languages. Specialties in which there is a comparatively prominent situation of supply exceeding demand are mainly some fields in which the specialties are exceedingly meticulous, the field of study is very narrow, adaptability is comparatively lacking, or the need is temporarily not great; graduates in these specialties find it hard to fit their specialties to job assignments. With regard to the temporary surplus of graduates, the allocating departments will give them satisfactory assignments and build up a reserve of talent; some of these graduates can be used in specialties closely approximating their own or can switch to other work.

Comparing this year with previous years, relatively speaking, the need for graduates in the interior, large and medium-sized cities, and large-scale factories and mines is less, while the need for graduates in border areas, minority nationality areas, and areas where economic and cultural development is fairly slow, as well as in departments with weak technical forces, is greater and more urgent.

These responsible persons emphatically pointed out that for this year's college and polytechnic school graduates the system of planned enrollment and unified placement is still being practiced. Under this principle, a new placement method is being tried out--that is the system of direct placement by the state and of combined placement by professional departments and localities, fixing the principle of dividing graduate placement in a given area among the state, the departments that run schools, and the schools, in order to enhance the power of placing graduates of the schools under departments that run schools and the localities and in order to increase the responsibility of the departments and localities for training talent, so that the training, placement, requirements, and use of talent will be better integrated.

Colleges and schools directly subordinate to the Ministry of Education will train talent for the whole country, and their graduates will be placed in a unified manner by the state. In the placement, except for retaining some graduates to supplement the teaching staff based on its requirements, the graduates are to be mainly used to strengthen key sectors, and there will also be appropriate retention of graduates in the areas in which the schools are located. In colleges and schools over which the central professional departments have control, graduates will be released for placement by the state principally in accordance with the system and the professional training of talent of the colleges and schools themselves. Colleges and schools under the control of provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in principle will themselves place their graduates, and the state, based on its needs, can appropriately transfer graduates with certain specialties.

There are also the following new rules for this year's work of placing graduates: Students who cannot complete their studies and graduate will be assigned suitable jobs by the planning and allocating departments of the areas where they were before they entered college or polytechnic school, and their wages and treatment should be one grade lower than the standard set by the state for graduates of ordinary higher schools. For the small number of students who have especially excellent records, the method of individual placement can be tried out. After graduates arrive at their work posts, they will be put on probation for 1 year, and after the probationary period those who pass a test given by their respective unit will become regular workers with fixed grades, and those who do not pass can have their probationary period extended for a period from half a year to 1 year, after which if they still do not pass, their wages will be reduced by one grade and they will be placed in other suitable jobs. Those graduates who, without considering the state's needs, persist in making individual unreasonable demands and after being educated refuse to abide by the placement decided for them, will have their placement status as graduates taken away and for a period of 5 years they cannot be employed as regular workers or staff members of the state.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FACE-SAVING BEHAVIOR IN CURRENT AFFAIRS BELABORED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 81 p 5

[Commentary by Yi Mu [0076 2606]: "Current Affairs and Face"]

[Text] Accidentally flipping through "Prologue to 'Book on False Freedom'" by Lu Xun, I discovered the following passage: "My liability is that when I comment on current affairs, I spare nobody's face. I always tend to cure inveterate wrongdoings by taking note of the types of personality involved." After I read it through, I closed the volume and fell into deep reflection; then I seemed to suddenly understand something: In the past, "current affairs" were simply "current affairs" and "face" simply "face" to my simple mind, the two were very far separated from each other and by no means "meshed their boundaries." Now that Mr Lu Xun had so mentioned, and, with this in mind, I thought about many things I had heard and seen together again, I seemed to feel that there is indeed some relationship between "current affairs" and "face."

For instance, criticizing "Unrequited Love" has been widespread since the beginning of this year. To begin with, it was up to everybody to decide for himself as to whether or not he wished to criticize this play; an enlightened person would not have resorted to such a foolish practice as lining himself up on one side or drawing a line between one group of people and another. Yet, some people somehow loved to save face and began to do all they could in reproach of those who criticized "Unrequited Love", but then recently they claimed they were the first ones to criticize it. But, when one looks up their articles which were supposed to have "criticized" "Unrequited Love" and reads them, one discovers that they altogether do nothing of the sort. This cannot but make one think very hard: Why have they become two entirely different personalities--before and afterward? This probably has to do precisely with "face"; although they may have made mistakes about a "current event," it is none the less necessary for them to protect their "face" in front of people.

Again, for example: On the question of the party guiding literature and arts, some people have written articles and delivered speeches to say that the party should not bother with literature and arts and should "rule by doing nothing." Their words were uttered in an iron-clad way: "On the matter of literature and arts, it is necessary to 'rule by doing nothing'; that is to say, don't try to control them, it is better for the leaders to go to sleep; free of such control, they'll prosper." These words could not have been clearer, and from whatever angle one might interpret them, they should not cause any misunderstanding. Yet, the comrade who uttered these words, recently, suddenly declared that what he mentioned as "ruling by doing

nothing" was not meant to dismiss party leadership but to suggest "doing nothing but having everything done." For this change, he even trotted out the "Cihai" "Encyclopedia of Terms" as proof and blamed those who criticized him for not understanding the meaning of "ruling by doing nothing," saying that they did not even look the phrase up in the "Cihai" and hence were proved entirely ignorant.

Few have realized that a reference book can be of such wonderful use. This comrade probably thought that, in doing this, he should be able to make others believe his "ruling by doing nothing" to mean really "ruling by doing everything." But this is by no means easier than moving the mountain in the south to fill up the sea in the north. This turns out rather badly because man is a superior animal, and a superior animal can think, remember things, and is able to infer and pass judgment. The interpretation in the "Cihai" might well be to your advantage, but it cannot obliterate articles published in the newspapers and journals, nor the speeches delivered in the grandhalls and before the massive audiences.

In spite of all this, one still seeks to argue, and perhaps this, too, has to do with "face." Just a while back, it was extremely fashionable for people to speak unrestrictedly from the pulpit on how there was no need for party leadership in literature and arts, and to publish articles in newspapers and journals on how the more attention paid by the party, the worse the situation would become. At that time, when one heard the applause, one evidently felt quite elated. Now, suddenly one has changed one's posture suggesting that one has always proposed to strengthen the party's leadership over literature and arts. Although this might make one cringe inside, one could still think that one's "face" is nonetheless being saved. This shows how "face" and "current affairs" are acutally related to each other.

While "face" is of course very important, facts are on the other hand impersonal. Everyone of us writes our history with our own words and deeds; these are facts which cannot be changed. If we wish to save face, it is of course quite possible, provided we simply follow the party's consistent tradition, seek truth from facts, and honestly acknowledge and correct our mistakes. It is very hard for a person not to say anything wrong or do anything wrong; but acknowledging it and correcting it saves face. Defects and mistakes are like a face stained by a patch of dust; once self-criticism is carried out, the stains will have been washed away, and the "face" remains intact. If one does things contrary to this course and, when mistakes are committed, still seeks to "stubbornly prop oneself up," then the result can only be the opposite.

9255

CSO: 4005/178

FORTHRIGHTNESS IN LITERARY AND ART CIRCLES STRESSED

Model of 'Self-Respect'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 81 p 8

[Commentary by Bai Pushan [4101 5543 1472]: "'Self-Respect, Not Self-Aggrandizement'"]

[Text] The well-known painter Lai Chusheng [0171 2806 3932] has been producing one fine work after another and is therefore widely acclaimed. But he likes to stamp a decorative seal on his works with these words: "Self-respect, not self-aggrandizement." This text on the seal is indeed simple in its language but comprehensive in its meaning. It reflects the painter's attitude about himself.

So-called self-respect means that whenever one creates something, one always adopts a solemn, responsible attitude and refrains from being perfunctory. One's techniques may be advanced or backward, and one's products may be good or bad, but one always takes one's work seriously, whether it is big or small. In the case of all those who behave in a prudent manner, almost everyone maintains such self-respect. Hence, when a literary work is produced, whether long or short, it is always a product soaked with the author's sweat and blood. He has carried the burden of "10 months of pregnancy," gone through the pain of "delivery," and racked his brains for it. The pleasures and pains involved in this process often are scarcely known to outsiders. Just like the peasant who loves the crop he has personally raised and the worker who loves the machine he has produced, writers and artists love their own works; this is a matter of commonsense. With regard to such self-respect, we should not only refrain from reproaching it but instead recognize that precisely because one has it, he is able to exert his utmost and thereby achieve the level that his product has thus attained.

So-called self-aggrandizement, on the other hand, means that as long as a product happens to be one's own, then whether it is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, one invariably values it as if it were some treasure which, he seems to feel, is always better and lovelier than any product by anyone else. For this reason, other people can never touch it, and once such an offense is committed, he is bound to counterattack. This is obviously no good. He who really has self-respect will never contemplate such self-aggrandizement. The fact that painter Lai Chusheng dares to stamp such a seal-text on his paintings may suggest that he is very modest and extremely openminded.

Cao Pei once said: "Men...are prone to make much of their own strengths and, by comparison, look down on others' shortcomings. As a colloquial saying puts it: 'Even though one only has an old broom at home, one treasures it as if it were worth a thousand pieces of gold'; this is but the result of a lack of self-knowledge." ("Dianlun: Lunwen" ["On Standard Works: Essays"]) Here the statement "when one has an old broom at home, one treasures it as if it were worth a thousand pieces of gold" later became distilled into the idiom "attaching unwarranted value to one's old broom," which makes an example of the practice of someone's treasuring something of his own that is really not very good. Simply because it is one's own, therefore, even a wornout broom is regarded as more important than a thousand pieces of gold. This is of course grossly exaggerated, but it does generalize an incorrect attitude, and hence it is not out of use even to this day. Today there actually are people who, once a criticism about themselves is heard, immediately demonstrate a conditional reflex, thinking that "the stick is being swung again." This of course is also due to the influence of the stick-swinging type of criticism in the past, which made people feel that the shadow of the bow they saw in their cup seemed to be a snake. But if one also takes a rejectionist attitude toward correct criticism, then one compares poorly--indeed, like earth to heaven--to Lai Chusheng's "self-respect, not self-aggrandizement."

Examples of 'Dark Stains'

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Oct 81 p 2

[Commentary by Li Mai [2621 7796]: "Wipe Away Dark Stains and Establish Moral Excellence"]

[Text] Up to now, even though in terms of our major principles, line, and policies we have returned to order from disorder, certain poisonous factors nurtured and spread by the 10 years of internal disturbance still continue to pollute the minds of some people. Some cases like this have occurred even among academic circles and writers. This cannot but leave one startled and surprised!

We have heard that there is a certain writer who published a book and who therefore especially sent 150 yuan as a requital to the publishing company's responsible editor, second reader, and third reader. There have been also incidents that involved the presenting of gifts to such second readers and third readers separately. Naturally, the editors, abiding by their editorial discipline, all politely declined such presentations.

An editor who helps an author to whip his work into shape and publish it as a book has to do a lot of hard thinking and examining, and has to spend a certain amount of energy. It is only sensible that the author should express his gratitude to the editor. If a revolutionary friendship therefore becomes established between them, and they thereby proceed to consult each other in order to refine the work at hand and improve matters together, this should be a natural course of development. But if a friendship is built on money, that would be too vulgar and too pedantic.

But the problem has not been limited to this. It is understood that the following event has also taken place: there was one unit about which certain stories were published in the press and broadcast. That unit somehow proceeded to allocate a

sum of money to be paid to the reporters as payment for their contributions. It was said that this way of doing things was more effective than advertising and also less expensive than paying for advertisements. This was because advertising always carries with it the implication of trumpeting oneself, whereas in the case of news reports, whether newspapers or broadcasting stations are involved, they are all propaganda tools of the party and the state, and once such reports are issued, they provide a good reputation and fine results. The reporters involved knew that accepting such remunerations would be far from a glorious thing to do. Some of them directly declined when such payments were presented; others accepted them but felt funny later and therefore turned them over to their organizations. As to whether or not still others simply fattened their own pockets with them, I am not quite clear.

Ordinarily, if some happenings are newsworthy, broadcasts and press reports about them are a matter of course, and there is no need for the concerned units to provide "payments for contributions" to the reporters. If things by no means warrant propagation, but simply because of such "payments for contributions" that are paid to reporters they thereby gain the opportunity to be broadcast and published in the press, then insofar as the reporters are concerned, it cannot but be said that they are abusing the power of news reporting, while in the case of the units concerned, it should at least be regarded as an act of contaminating press circles.

As my writing reaches this point, doubt also comes to my mind as to whether, under the contamination of the polluted ideology of the 10 years of internal disturbance, there were reporters who worked for private gain by making reports for certain units as a quid pro quo? If such conditions ever prevailed, that would be a matter of great shame for press circles!

If we trace their roots and causes, [we can see that] all cases of this kind have resulted from contamination by the remnant poison of the 10 years of internal disturbance. No such astonishing, strange things ever happened in press circles or academic and writing circles before the 10 years of internal disturbance!

Today, many things have been rectified, and in the national arena activities concerning the "five stresses and four points of beauty" are being launched. To do a good job of building a spiritual civilization and fostering people's spiritual beauty is a very important plank of our program. The dark stains left by the 10 years of internal disturbance should be wiped away entirely. The souls polluted by certain poisons should be thoroughly cleansed. The communist morals established in the early postliberation period should be revived and given full play.

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CSO: 4005/177

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEILONGJIANG WRITERS HOLD FORUM ON LITERATURE, ART

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by GUANGMING RIBAO correspondents Zheng Xiaofeng [6774 4562 2800] and Gong Suyi [1362 5685 5669]: "Heilongjiang Writers Hold a Forum"]

[Text] On 12 October, a number of professional writers who are members of the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese Writers Federation held a forum on how to develop literary and art reviews and how to experience life.

In his speech, writer Ba Bo [1572 3134] said: A writer must emphasize the effect of his works, because whatever he writes will reflect his thoughts, attitude and viewpoint. On the other hand, I consider it unnecessary to impose restrictions on what to write and what not to write. A case in point is that public opinion and forces represented by literary reviewers must be mobilized to influence the production of works. In the past, few works were criticized, while too many works received praise they did not deserve. Praise was heaped on some works before has turned out to be wrong. Many erroneous tendencies in creative literature and art have been allowed to develop without being subjected to criticism. This shows that our leadership on this front needs to be strengthened.

Writer Wang Zhongyu [3769 1813 3842] said: The leadership of the party on the literary and artistic front considers the development of literary and artistic reviews and the constant and healthy development of criticism and self-criticism as important methods to make creative literature and art flourish. He said: Earlier, there was confusion on the literary and artistic front. Some writers even went so far as to fabricate stories dealing with people and ghosts along with love stories. Under the influence of this tendency in creative writing, writers don't have to keep in direct touch with life or improve their ways of thinking. This is a tendency that deserves great attention. He said: If a writer wants to portray new life and new personalities, he must have direct experience in life and improve his ways of thinking in the course of exploring life. Only in this way can he profoundly understand and have an insight into new life and new personalities. Can anyone create new images of workers, peasants and soldiers behind closed doors and without venturing out of his home to see life in person?

Writer Pan Qing [3382 7230] said: Some unhealthy praise and excessive and nauseating flattery have appeared in literary and art reviews. Some are off-the-cuff responses to works in the form of watercolored billboard advertisements and cheap commercials, which are inferior to free contention.

Writer Zhong Tao [6945 3447] said: When literature and art were dominated by the "gang of four," writers were afraid of criticism which named their names in newspapers. I hope that in the future we can create an atmosphere in which name-calling criticism in newspapers will take the form of help and warm friendship to involved writers. Only in this way can a normal atmosphere of literary and art review be fostered.

Writer Lin Qing [2651 7230] said: Although earlier we detected defects in some works, nobody would listen if we really wrote articles criticizing them. This was caused mainly by ideological confusion on the literary front.

During the forum, the problem of the training of young writers was also emphasized. Today, the term "make a personal venture deep into life" seems offensive to some young writers, who are interested only in touching the surface of life and in becoming prolific literary workers. In the end, they have come up with some increasingly tasteless works with episodes and scenes which are out of touch with real life. This situation has been caused by their unwillingness to keep in touch with the life of the masses of workers and peasants and by the premature promotion of these youths to professional writers. Today, we still have to emphasize the need for writers to foster a correct world outlook and build a solid base of life and for old writers to guide their younger counterparts through a trial period.

Liang Zhiqiang [2733 1807 1730], vice president of the Heilongjiang branch of the Chinese Writers Federation, presided over the forum. Writer Miao Xing [5379 2946] also spoke at the forum.

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CS0: 4005/233

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COOPERATION BETWEEN WRITERS, CRITICS EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Chang Zhensheng [1603 2162 3932]: "Talk Starts With Peeling Apples"]

[Text] After supper, my child rested his body on my lap, beseeching me to peel rotten fruit from an apple. When doing the peeling, I recalled a passage from an article by Lu Xun, saying: "I hope that hard working critics will participate in the work of peeling rotten apples."

It is really meaningful to compare the task of literary and art review to that of peeling rotten apples as Lu Xun did. A correct development of literary and art review requires critics to carry forward this spirit of peeling rotten apples in every conceivable way.

But a further study of this matter makes me think that literary and art review is nowhere as simple as the "peeling of rotten apples." First, "defects" that exist in a literary work are not so easily visible as a rotten apple, whose inedible fruit is visibly offensive even to a small child. But views on which portion of a literary work is rotten, absurd, good or harmful often vary from person to person. Second, no one will disagree with the need to peel rotten fruit from an apple, while the criticism of a literary work may irritate its author. Upon hearing someone point out that his "apple" is partially rotten and needs quick surgery, its author may protest ruefully: "Please listen, what is wrong with my good red apple?" When someone starts to administer surgery on the rotten portion of his apple, he may try to stall the operation, saying: "Don't touch that portion because it is the part I consider particularly sweet." If you persist, he will become desperate, saying: "Please look, the ax is falling on my apple!" It is certain that literary and art review is a task which is not as simple as that of peeling rotten apples. First, a conscientious effort must be made to determine whether a literary work is "rotten." If it is verified as a "rotten" work, how surgery should be performed on it presents a problem. If it is "rotten," "surgery" cannot be overruled by anyone. But as soon as rotten fruit is removed from an apple, thrown into a garbage can and buried beneath the ground, it can be said that the process is finished and can never be reversed. But when a literary and art work is mislabelled, certainly it should be rehabilitated. But some works which have been verified as poisonous weeds following years of examination may be promoted by others as a

rare commodity catering to the "tastes of different people." Is it true that some publishers have profited greatly from the sale of "rotten apples" as sweet and juicy things?

In mentioning this, I do not mean that our world of literature today is laden with "rotten apples." This is definitely not what I mean. It is certain that "rotten apples" and their "lovers" are a minority. Although we can see some rotten plumes and rotten apples on the market during this fruit harvesting season, stalls selling juicy, colorful, fresh fruit can be seen everywhere. Therefore, what is at stake is no longer those rotten apples which are inevitable during a bumper harvest of fruit, but an unhealthy tendency that needs to be rectified. Under the influence of this tendency, "surgery is denied of rotten apples under the pretext that the more rotten they are, the sweeter they become."

We must do a good job of "peeling rotten apples." Although this work requires critics of literature and art to adopt a realistic attitude toward works and to analyze them objectively, diligently and meticulously, they should do everything possible to preserve all the edible fruit when surgery is performed on a rotten apple. Meanwhile, the authors of works are also required to hold themselves responsible to readers and to adopt a broadminded attitude toward their works. In this connection, we must emulate Lu Xun, who never stopped worrying about the effect of his works on youths when he wholeheartedly devoted himself to blazing a new path for them. He remarked: "In the course of exploration, I am afraid that the immature fruits of my mental labor may have a harmful effect on the lovers of my fruits. That is why I want to think twice before writing anything down on paper for fear of harming those youths." Only by displaying this spirit can we have the courage to pick up the weapon of self-criticism and join critics in removing the "rotten fruit" from apples and offering edible fruit to the people. Under the impact of this spirit, those hoarders of "rotten apples as a rare commodity" will also have no alternative but to close down their shop.

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CSO: 4005/273

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CHINESE GYMNASTS IN MOSCOW

HK270807 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 6

[Newsletter from Moscow by reporters Ying Xiu [6601 4423] and Huang Bingjun [7806 3521 6874]: "Competing With Gymnasts From All Over the World"]

[Text] The weather in Moscow in mid-November was warmer than in the previous years and the temperature was only about 3 or 4 degrees below zero. However, the sky was always grey with snow falling slightly every day and a little cold wind. There was a thin layer of snow on the lawns and the quiet pavements, and on the twigs and branches of pine and white birch. Coming here from Beijing, we felt rather cold, nevertheless.

The 21st world gymnastics championships are due to be inaugurated here on the evening of 22 November. From 23 November, several hundred men and women gymnasts from nearly 40 countries of all the continents will give full play to their abilities and compete with superb skills and vigorous and graceful gymnastics performances. Since arriving in Moscow on 15 November, China's 14 men and women contestants go to a court a long way from their lodgings to train every day. Overcoming certain inadaptabilities owing to time difference, cold weather and living conditions, they are determined to compete with skillful contestants of other countries and strive to get better achievements than in the previous world championships.

People still remember that the 20th world gymnastics championships held in the United States 2 years ago was the first international tournament in which China participated since rejoining the International Gymnastics Federation after a suspension of many years. At that tournament, our gymnastics team was placed fifth in the men's team event and fourth in the women's. Ma Yanhong, a little girl of 16 at that time, won first place in the individual uneven bars event. This was the first championship won by a Chinese gymnast at a world gymnastics championship. These achievements made the Chinese team a conspicuously strong one in the world gymnastics circles.

After a lapse of 2 years, the Chinese gymnasts have made more rapid progress. They have stood the tests at many international tournaments and have gotten excellent results. Over the past 2 years they have won a total of 158 medals. The skills of veteran team members have become more mature and new talents have shown themselves. Li Ning, who is 18 years old, is participating for the

first time in such a big international tournament. He won the men's free exercise, horse and rings in the individual events at the world university games held last summer, drawing people's attention in the gymnastics circles of many countries. Tong Fei displayed his talent for the first time by winning fifth place in the parallel bars at the last world championships. Achieving outstanding successes in a series of subsequent international tournaments, he came second in the individual all-round at one stroke, winning three gold medals in the parallel bars, rings and free exercise at the "sixth Paris gymnastics tournament" [words indistinct] He has come to Moscow this time to participate at the tournament with newly developed feats of great difficulty. How is our Ma Yanhong? She has not been marking time in the last 2 years. She can now perform new jumping feats with higher degrees of difficulty on the uneven bars and has raised her level on the other items to a certain extent. When asked what she thought about participating at the Moscow tournament, she gave a clear-cut reply: Make every effort to perform well at the tournament and strive to develop the best level. This is in fact the common aspiration of the 14 players of the Chinese team.

Just as the Chinese gymnastics team was engaged in intensive training prior to the tournament, the happy tidings that the Chinese women's volleyball team won the world title came from the East. Like a warm spring breeze blowing into cold Moscow, the Chinese gymnastics team was astir with great rejoicing. What a great inspiration this was to the Chinese men and women gymnasts who were to participate at the international tournament! They immediately sent a cable of congratulations to the Chinese women's volleyball team, expressing their determination to learn from them.

Naturally, the Chinese gymnastics team will encounter strong opposition at this championship and will have to face fierce competition in order to get excellent results. The Soviet Union, Japan and the United States, which won the first three places in the men's team event last time, have a few famous world stars. Capable of performing feats of high degrees of difficulty and high quality, they are presently outstanding players of the world sports circles. Romania took first place in the women's team event last time. In order to retain the title, they have meticulously considered the question of selecting players. It is said that Comanichi, winner of the world championships on a number of occasions will not participate at the tournament but will still arrive in Moscow before the tournament starts. Some observers consider that, even in the absence of Comanichi, the Romanian women's team already has fairly solid strength. In addition to this, the women contestants of the Soviet Union and the GDR are likewise strong competitors for the championship. Over the past few days, players from various countries have arrived one after another and commenced training on the 19th at the gymnasium where the tournament is to be held. Inspecting and learning from each other's performance, they are itching to win the championships.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG FORUM ON PARTY LEADERSHIP IN LITERARY WORK

SK290845 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Nov 81

[Text] According to our sources, the provincial cultural bureau recently convened a forum on literary and art creativity. The forum set forth many good suggestions on promoting literary and art creativity and urged leadership at all levels to pay attention to art and literary work and promoting more writers and artists.

Forum participants reviewed their experiences in literary and art work. They said the province's most influential works were created under the direct leadership and concern of the party. Literary and art works can go nowhere without party leadership; it can never expect to produce good work and is bound to go astray and violate taboos without party leadership.

They contended that to produce good literary and art works, writers must go deep into the realities of life. There is no shortcut in literary creation. No successful literary works have ever been produced which are not based on life and are fabricated. This is a lesson drawn from many years of experiences. We must bear this in mind.

The forum confirmed the province's achievements in literary and art creation in the past few years. It also pointed out some problems. It was unanimously held that lax leadership over literary and art work and the failure to study the realities of life were two major reasons for the poor quality of literary and art works. Forum participants unanimously said that efforts should be made to emulate the spirit of our country's women volleyball team, plunge into the thick of life and produce more works on the subject of the four modernizations which have distinctive local features and are popular with the masses. It is incumbent upon the writers to contribute to the socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/239

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING CIRCULAR ON COLLEGE GRADUATES' JOB PLACEMENT

SK290625 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] The Liaoning Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a circular urging party organs at all levels to do a better job in assigning jobs for college graduates of [words indistinct] in terms of ideology, education and organizational measures.

The circular states: doing a good job in assigning jobs for this year's college graduates and enhancing the consciousness of college graduates and their family members in voluntarily submitting themselves to the state's job assignments to work in places where conditions are hardest and where help is needed is a very arduous task. This is a test for our party's ideological and political work as well as a test for the party cadres and the communist party members to see whether they can play an exemplary and leading role in this regard.

The circular urges party organizations at all levels to integrate the work on assigning jobs for this year's college graduates with the consolidation of the party's work style, the strengthening of ideological and political work and the overcoming of lax party leadership. The provincial and municipal responsible comrades must include the college graduate job assignment work in their agenda, interview graduates, talk with them and conduct ideological and political education among them.

The circular also urges the college party and CYL organs as well as administrative and leading departments to continue conducting meticulous and appropriate ideological work among graduates and to urge them to learn from the hard-working and indomitable spirit of the Chinese women's volleyball team who won glory for the country, to submit themselves to the state's job assignments and contribute to the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/239

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACCUSATIONS OF UNFAIR MARKING AT GYMNASTICS CHAMPIONSHIP

OW011849 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] Moscow, November 30 (XINHUA)--A protest against unfair marking was lodged by the Chinese gymnastic delegation with the arbitration committee of the 21st world gymnastics championships here yesterday.

This involved China's woman gymnast Ma Yanhong after her competition in the uneven bars finals.

A total of eight women gymnasts contended for the uneven bars title at stake. Maxi Gnauck of the German Democratic Republic was the fifth gymnast to perform. She was followed by China's Ma Yanhong. Gnauck was awarded a full 10 and Ma Yanhong collected 9.9 points. Gnauck, a top-notch gymnast, executed highly difficult movements in the finals. But the Chinese gymnast's performance on the apparatus was as impressive as her GDR counterpart's. Her movements were characterized by creativeness, high difficulty, acrobatic stunts and a rock-firm dismount. Warm applause greeted the Chinese gymnast when she completed her performance. "Another full mark for sure!" some Soviet spectators hailed.

The chief judges from Romania and the United States each awarded her a full 10. The Bulgarian judge gave a full mark. The judges from the Federal Republic of Germany and Finland each displayed 9.90 points. The Hungarian judge gave 9.80 points. When the scoreboard flashed 9.9 points, hissing and stampings burst out in the gymnasium. Complaints were voiced by many Soviet spectators and foreign reporters.

The coach of the Chinese women gymnasts' team immediately lodged a protest with the arbitration committee and demanded that video recording be replayed and the marks revised. The arbitration committee, however, turned down the Chinese protest.

The Chinese gymnastic delegation later submitted a written statement to the International Gymnastic Federation, calling for a fair remarking of Ma Yanhong's performance in the uneven bars event. But no reply to the Chinese statement came from the International Gymnastic Federation.

CSO: 4000/27

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU FIRST SECRETARY'S REPORT--On the afternoon of 22 October, Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee first secretary Liang Lingguang gave a report in the Zhongshan Memorial Hall on the situation to some 4,800 teachers and students of the municipal subordinate universities and colleges. In his report, Liang Lingguang talked in detail about the development of the economic and cultural causes in the municipality over the past 32 years and about the great achievements. He hoped that they would make concerted efforts to run schools well, study hard, take the road of being red and expert and make contributions toward the four modernizations in the municipality. He demanded that party organizations and party and CYL members in the schools give play to their role as backbone elements and models and carry out the activities of "five stresses and four beautifuls" and learning from Lei Feng. [HK040354 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 22 Oct 81 HK]

TIANJIN MARKS 'XINHUA'S' FOUNDING--The Tianjin municipal branch of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY sponsored a tea party on 9 November to mark the 50th anniversary of the agency's founding. Present at the party were Liu Gang, secretary of the municipal CCP committee and Chen Bing, deputy secretary of the municipal CCP committee and director of the municipal propaganda department. Attending the party were resident correspondents of various dailies across the country; responsible persons from the municipal radio and television stations; and aged comrades who were former staff members and workers of the news agency. At the party, director of the XINHUA NEW AGENCY's Tianjin branch extolled the 50-year achievements scored by the agency and extended many thanks for the support given by various circles throughout the city. Comrade Liu Gang also made a congratulatory speech at the party. [SK102253 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 10 Nov 81 SK]

BEIJING BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION--Beijing, 14 Nov (XINHUA)--The Beijing Buddhist Association was set up today at the closing session of the first conference of Beijing Buddhists. The meeting was attended by seventy representatives of Buddhist monks, nuns, lamas and Buddhist believers. A charter adopted at the conference stipulates that the Beijing Buddhist Association is a united organization of all Buddhist believers in Beijing. Its aim is to help implement the government policy of freedom of religious belief, rally all Buddhists in the capital to take an active part in promoting socialist construction, reunification of the motherland and the cause of world peace. Master Zhengguo was elected president of the Beijing Buddhist Association together with six other vice-presidents. Beijing's vice-mayor Lei Jieqiong and Shi Linfeng, deputy head of the United Front Department of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party met with the representatives to the conference. [OW161353 Beijing XINHUA in English 1228 GMT 14 Nov 81 OW]

TEACHERS UPGRADED--Beijing, 24 Nov (XINHUA)--The upgrading of primary and secondary school teachers is in full swing throughout the country, according to an Education Ministry official here today. This is one of the major measures taken by the ministry to improve the quality of teaching in primary and secondary schools and lay a solid foundation for the country's educational development. Of the three million secondary school teachers, one million are now upgrading themselves in teacher's universities and colleges, while 340,000 more graduated in 1979 and 1980. The study is done mostly in the teacher's spare-time, while a portion of the teachers are given one to two years to study full time with pay. The country has 172 regular teacher's universities and colleges and 1,017 teacher's schools that enroll students to become future teachers. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0753 GMT 24 Nov 81 OW]

SHANGHAI THEATRICAL FESTIVAL OPENS--Shanghai, 22 November (XINHUA)--A one-month theatrical festival presenting more than 30 plays, local operas and other theatrical items mainly with contemporary themes opened here Saturday. Noted playwright Cao Yu, chairman of the Chinese dramatists association, said at the opening ceremony that Shanghai has long been known for its varied fine theatrical works created in the past and its talented dramatists and stage artists. He expressed the hope that more good theatrical works will emerge during the festival and Shanghai stage artists will make more outstanding contributions. Highlighting the first-run performances is a modern drama "Dr Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling" on the merits of the two great historical figures. Two other modern dramas on contemporary themes, two local operas, and a puppet show based on a legendary story are also to be shown. All the items were chosen from nearly 50 recommended by the local theatrical troupes since August. A panel with 100 theatrical workers and a few famous stage artists taking part has been formed to comment on the performances. Prizes will be given to the best plays and performances. [Text] [OW220903 Beijing XINHUA in English 0818 GMT 22 Nov 81]

CSO: 4000/22

EXCERPTS OF LIU QING'S MEMOIRS ON IMPRISONMENT GIVEN

Hong Kong CH'ISHIH NIENTAL [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10, Oct 81 pp 56-66

[Article by Liu Qing [0491 7230]]

[Text] Editor's Note: Liu Qing is one of a group of young people mainland China who came out in the latter part of 1979 to fight for freedom and democracy. At that time Liu Qing was the principal editor of the 5 APRIL FORUM, an unofficial publication, and served as the convener of a joint conference of all unofficial publications in China. In November 1979 when Wei Jingsheng, editor of TANSUO, an unofficial publication, was facing trial by the people's court, Liu Qing asked a friend to cover the proceedings with a recorder. After Wei's appeal was turned down by the Higher People's Court in November, Liu and his associates of the 5 APRIL FORUM sold the transcript of Wei's trial in front of the "Democracy Wall" at Xidan. Public Security people intervened and arrested some of them. Later, Liu Qing went to the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" in the Public Security Bureau to make inquiries and seek redress for them. But he never returned home from that visit and his whereabouts remained unknown until 30 July 1980, when the Public Security Bureau notified his family that Liu Qing had been committed to 3 years of reeducation through labor and that he was serving the term in Shaanxi.

The Beijing Public Security Bureau secretly detained Liu Qing for more than 8 months before committing him to reeducation through labor. He was denied a trial in a court of law in accordance with legal procedure. This kind of wanton disregard for the law aroused so much resentment that a group of intellectuals in the United States wrote to the Chinese authorities to register their disapproval.

Not long ago, one of our readers provided this periodical with a long article by Liu Qing, entitled: "A Dejected View of the Past and the Future--I Appeal to Society for Justice..." That reader told us he obtained this article written by Liu Qing in his prison cell after it had passed through several hands. The article describes how the author was secretly detained and interrogated, his ordeal in the Beijing detention

center and the labor reform camp in Shaanxi. Many of the incidents he describes are indeed deplorable. The legal and political problems observed by Liu Qing from his personal experience are cause for concern.

The article is over 100,000 characters long and this periodical does not have enough space to publish the full text. We are publishing only excerpts under a new title: "Liu Qing's Prison Memoirs."

Recording Wei Jingsheng's Trial

I learned on 14 October 1979 that Wei Jingsheng would be tried in open court the following day. I passed the information on to certain unofficial publications and cell organizations and we agreed to meet in front of the Higher People's Court, No 1 Zhengyi Road, on the 15th at 0700. The next day, when I arrived in front of the court, I saw a few foreign correspondents and the responsible heads of various unofficial publications and cell organizations shivering in the cold morning wind. There was a notice on the iron fence of the court saying that Wei Jingsheng would be tried on another date to be announced separately. We asked the receptionist of the Higher Court for the approximate date, but he said he did not know it. Judging by past experience, when a trial is postponed, it is usually postponed indefinitely. Surprisingly, I found out later in the evening that Wei Jingsheng's trial would begin at 0800 the following day (the 16th), and I also learned that visitors' permits were controlled and issued inside the bureau. Since this was to be an open trial, why make it so mysterious?

The arrest of Ren Wandong (head of the "Human Rights League"), Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Chen Lu, Zhang Wehhe and others in March 1979 had become such a focus of attention at home and abroad that the foreign press which carried reports on the case had approached Chinese leaders and unofficial publications and cell organizations of Beijing for more information about their condition. Reportedly, the United Nations and Amnesty International wrote on more than one occasion to the Chinese Government. What accounts for the concern at home and abroad about the fate of a few ordinary Chinese citizens? It is because the arrests stirred up a "cold March wind" blowing across the horizon that set the whole country and the world reeling with doubts and misgivings. The public is not only concerned over their fate but also anxious to learn the outcome of the case in order to take China's political pulse. I was also concerned over their fate. Realizing the difficulty of getting a visitor's permit inside the bureau (Why did they want to issue the permits inside the bureau?), I went all over the city looking for a friend who had obtained a permit. I gave him a recorder and asked him to record the actual proceedings of the trial.

I got the tape back from my friend on the evening of 16 October, and several of us spent 4-5 hours transcribing it. We all agreed that Wei Jingsheng had violated the public safety statute, but the court convicted him of two other, more serious crimes and sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment and a loss of his political rights for 3 years.

Such a decision was unacceptable to the public. It was a mockery of the pursuit of the rule of law in China and a blow to democracy and the administration of justice.

Something had to be done to press for justice. All the unofficial publications in Beijing agreed it was their duty to make the facts known to the public and to comment on the unfairness in order draw public attention and make our position known to the leader of the state who was earnestly interested in the reform of the Chinese system.

It was a very simple task to mimeograph the trial transcript, and there was no need to involve all the unofficial publications. We knew at the time we would run into difficulties if we openly touched the sore spot of the "authorities." Unfortunately, our predictions were borne out by facts later.

Why Did I Undertake the Task?

I decided to undertake the task because it was my duty to do so. At the beginning of 1979 all the unofficial publications and cell organizations of Beijing formed a "joint conference" representing a wide range of views. They reached a four-point agreement as follows: When any individual or group associated with any unofficial publication or organization is arrested for expressing political views or ideology, all the other organizations will rally to give assistance and publish the true facts; rally the general public to comfort the dependents of the arrested; provide financial assistance if economic conditions permit; and negotiate with the authorities for the right to visit the arrested in prison. I was the convener of the "joint conference" elected by the unofficial publications.

In June 1979, Luo Kejun [5012 0344 0971], a judge of the Beijing Higher Court, forwarded to me a request from Wei Jingsheng: "I want Liu Qing to defend me in court or he may find an attorney to defend me." After I got the request, I talked to certain people in the Department of Law, Beijing Daxue, and other legal experts. Since China at that time had not yet promulgated the "criminal code," I had to tell Luo Kejun: "Since China does not have a 'criminal code' for us to base our defense on, I am not in a position to accept Wei's request. However, if the court can provide me with something similar to a 'criminal code' or other relevant provisions of the law, I will accept the request to defend him in court. We hope the court can give us permission to visit the prison and talk to the imprisoned about the details of his case so as to let Wei Jingsheng enjoy the real benefit of defense. Finally, I asked the court, on behalf of all the unofficial publications and a considerable number of individuals in Beijing, to give Wei Jingsheng an open trial." When ever the "criminal code" was promulgated, I and certain other people planned to form a defense organization to defend Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Ren Wanding and others. It is a pity that before we had time to notify the court of our acceptance of the request, the court had begun the trial.

Selling the "Proceedings of Wei Jingsheng's Trial" at Xidan

Assisted by friends, I finished making handwritten copies of the transcript at the beginning of November. We proofread the copies against the transcript many times. Except for the parts we missed due to mumbling and change of tape, the copies we made are absolutely accurate and true. Before we mimeographed over 1,000 copies, we copied the transcript on a big character poster and posted it on the "Democracy Wall" for those who had been waiting for it impatiently.

On 9 November we posted a notice on the Democracy Wall announcing the sale of The "Proceedings of Wei Jingsheng's Trial" on the 11th of the month. At about 1400

on the 11th, several thousand people had gathered in front of the sales notice. We began the sale ahead of the announced time as requested by the crowd. Although I was assisted by about 20 people to maintain order, confusion and commotion quickly ensued as everybody tried to get to the front to buy our limited number of pamphlets. While I was busy keeping order, a man with a familiar face gave me a gentle pull and asked to speak with me. I followed him to a quieter spot where he said to me: "The Public Security people are out to get you people. They will act within 30 minutes." I rushed back immediately, but it was too late. There was a panicky mass of humanity, some whispering nervously, some running aimlessly, others anxious to find out why. I saw Victoria of UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL and her assistant Liu Xiangcheng and Wade of the DAILY TELEGRAPH. There were tens of foreign correspondents looking puzzled as they shrugged their shoulders. A few daring ones tried to take pictures, but their cameras were pushed aside by somebody in the crowd. People wearing hard hats were dashing back and forth in the midst of people, who gave way quickly to avoid collision, thus forming a "lane of people." A man told a raid was taking place, the pamphlets were being taken away, and people were being arrested. When he pulled me to the curb, I saw a "fully packed" bakery truck and another ambulance-like vehicle starting to move and then speeding away toward the west.

Later, people told me what had happened:

While I was away, the police had suddenly arrived. According to eyewitnesses there were 70 or 80 of them, others even put the figure at over 100. Some blocked both ends of the sidewalk by the "Democracy Wall," while others charged into the crowd, grabbing pamphlets. One of the sellers was seized by three or four policemen who twisted his arms back and pushed him "like an airplane" to an automobile. People who angrily asked questions were beaten and pushed away with arms twisted back "like airplanes" to an automobile.

It is said that at least one of those arrested was a friend who helped me sell the pamphlets. A young woman who had bought a few pamphlets was stopped by the police. When she refused to let go of the pamphlets she obtained in panic purchasing, she, too, was taken away indiscriminately. At least four were arrested.

A Show of "Martial Art" by the Public Security People

If the contents of the mimeographed pamphlets had been banned (the police had no knowledge of the contents), the Public Security Bureau could have told me not to sell them; there was no need for a show of "martial art" in a busy section of the capital. Was it that the public security people who had been trained in the art must find an opportunity for actual combat to keep up their skill? Or was it because they did not care to reason with us low-class citizens and had to resort to beating to register their "displeasure" and "educate" us? Even if I were wrong or had violated the law, there was no justification for such a noisy expedition, because that is not the only way to show the resolve of the "proletarian dictatorship." Moreover, judging by my limited legal knowledge, since I had not violated a single provision of any law, did we really deserve such brutality?

Furthermore, the friends who helped me and those who stood up for justice were pushed away "like airplanes" and thrown into prison. I just could not abandon them without making inquiries and looking into the rights and wrongs of the case. I could not, as the saying goes, grease the soles of my shoes and run away from danger and difficulties.

I made up my mind to go the public security offices to argue the matter out. I alone should face all the consequences, whether legal or administrative, if the sale of the pamphlets was a violation of the law, and none of those who had been arrested should be implicated. If what I did was lawful, the Beijing Public Security Bureau should have been responsible for releasing the arrested and returning the confiscated pamphlets. Yang Jing, an editor of the 5 APRIL FORUM, Zhao Xing, a member of a key unit of the "Human Rights League"; Sun Yan, its public relations man, and a young girl I knew who was enraged by the arrests, offered to go with me to the Public Security Bureau.

Seeking Redress at the Public Security Bureau

The automobiles carrying the arrested went westward, away from the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The police who had confiscated the art objects shown at the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" also came from that precinct. This misled me into believing the show of "martial art" was directed by the west precinct of Beijing. When we got to the west precinct and inquired about the incident, they told us they knew nothing about it but said the police substation in the area where the incident occurred should know. So we returned to the West Changanjie substation. At first they denied any knowledge of the matter. However when Zhao Xing identified a bespectacled policeman who took part in seizing the pamphlets and described how he had grabbed a pamphlet from the hands of a woman, they were ill at ease and admitted they had acted on the instructions of their superiors. They said they did not know the details. When we asked who their superior was they tried to evade the question. Finally they asked their substation chief to see us.

He looked thin and walked in deliberately measured steps, which distinguished him from the average policeman. He was no stranger to me. His name was Liu and he used to be a policeman on the street where I lived. In about 1970, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, he made headlines in the newspapers as a pacesetter who knew how to make creative use of what he learned. I remember it was on 10 December 1968 that a group Red Guards broke into my house late at night and took me to a "study class" run by the West Changan Street substation, where I was detained for 4 days. It was this policeman, now promoted to the position of substation chief, who had asked imposingly: "Are you convinced that you should go to join your team?" Then I realized that I was being detained in the study class because I had not followed the orders of this policeman to go down the village. I know I am very stubborn and I do not give in no matter what the odds are. Confronted by this policeman who thought he was the personification of the law, I just wanted to engage him in a debate. So on that day I said firmly to the policeman, who would be promoted one day: "I am not convinced and I don't think I will ever be convinced." As a result I was kept in the study class for more than 40 days, after which they had to let me go because the study class ceased to exist.

The moment he recognized me, he pretended to act like an old friend; he asked about my parents and my condition, as if he were genuinely concerned. Recalling what had happened and the reality I faced, I found it revolting to play the game of feigned friendliness. So I asked him bluntly: What legal grounds do you people have to make arrests and seize pamphlets? If you do not have any legal justifications, I ask you to give me my pamphlets, set free the people you arrested and also give me an explanation.

I was furious because these policemen wanted to interrogate those who came with me separately, as usual. We made it clear to the police that I was the only one concerned with the pamphlets and I was also the only one who came to make inquiries. Those who came with me had nothing to do with the pamphlets; they accompanied me because they were concerned about those arrested and about the incident as whole. But the police insisted on interrogating those who accompanied me.

The substation was obviously not the place to get my problems resolved, and it was meaningless to argue with the police any further. So we left the West Changan Street substation and went to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, which was behind the incident.

Beginning To Face a Cold Current

The November weather was indeed unpredictable. It was sunny and mild in the afternoon, but the temperature dropped suddenly toward evening. Apparently we would face a new cold current. We braved the cold wind to get to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. When we finally arrived at the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" there, we were so cold that we had to clench our teeth to steady our nerves. I explained to the policeman on duty the purpose of our visit. He said inattentively that he would call his superior on the telephone in a minute. Before he had time to make the call, his superior, obviously more concerned over the incident than he, called him instead. The West Changan Street substation apparently had reported on the incident and our whereabouts. The man on duty suddenly became very attentive and came to the entrance hall to talk with us. As soon as we touched on the legality of the arrests and the seizure of publications by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, he defended their position that as long as the arrests and seizures were carried out by the public security authorities, they were all done in accordance with the law. In the eyes of this law enforcement officer, they are the law givers. I teased him by asking Yang Jing to jot this down and threatened to quote him when I found it appropriate. He appeared a bit uneasy, but he commented, as people used to say, logically and philosophically: "The most you can do is to write a few articles and make a few speeches and get them published abroad. That doesn't hurt the Public Security Bureau at all. However, if you people are not discreet enough, it could cost you 15 years."

Four personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" finally came down at about 10 p.m. Like the police at the West Changan Street substation, they started separately interrogating the four people, including Yang Jing, who came with me but had not intended to talk to them. They did not care to speak to me, although I was the one who came to make inquiries and seek redress. Apparently they were trying to gather enough incriminatory evidence in these separate interrogations to help them deal with me more effectively. I didn't care about that, but I would not tolerate the insult, abuse and intrigue. The four who came with me, including Yang Jing, and I told them over and over that I alone wanted to contact the Public Security Bureau, not those who came with me. They came to keep my company and had nothing to do with the incident. But the officers still refused to listen to what we said. Finally, I said in protest that if the four officers did not care to receive me, I would leave. Then they turned around reluctantly to receive me.

The conversation took place in a small room within the reception office. The moment I entered the room, they acted as if they were going to try me. Pointing to a stool on one side, one of them said: "Sit down." Then he began shuffling

and looking through the papers on the desk as though he was considering where the "trial" should start. After a moment of silence, he said: "Let us talk about why you came here."

After giving them a brief summary of what had happened that afternoon, I asked four specific questions: First, what law did I violate when I mimeographed the transcript of the court proceedings? Second, what law did the man who helped me sell the pamphlets violate? If the Public Security Bureau had no legal ground for making the arrests and seizing the literature, I requested that, third, they let me get back the pamphlets, and fourth, that they immediately release those who were arrested for helping me sell the literature. If the Public Security Bureau had legal grounds, I was responsible for everything and nobody else had anything to do with it.

Confrontation in the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors"

The oldest of the four personnel, a man named Wang, pondered in silence for a second and then took the offensive without answering my questions: "Where did you get the tape recording of the court proceedings? Did you do it yourself or did someone else record it for you?"

I told them that how I got hold of the tape had nothing to do with the questions I raised. I said emphatically that the Public Security Bureau had no legal grounds to make arrests and seize the literature.

The fact that I kept asking them for legal justifications and refused to accept their jurisdictional authority unless they acted in accordance with legal procedure infuriated these law enforcement personnel, who could not provide any legal justification for their action. They tried to stop my repeated protests and treated me as if I were being tried in court. They shouted and pounded the desk to make me reveal who had provided the recorder and who had helped in making the recording. I refused to cooperate and told them that they could not try me unless they arrested or detained me legally, or at least produced a summons for me to appear in court. In any case I said I would not answer any questions except those bearing directly on the crime I had committed. In other words, I would not answer any questions unless they could show me that the questions were based on a "criminal code" or on lawfully promulgated decrees, rulings and regulations.

My refusal to submit to the trial was protected by the law of the People's Republic of China. The "Regulations Governing Arrests and Detentions" promulgated in 1979 provide expressly that all arrests, detentions and interrogations shall be conducted in accordance with legal procedure upon the receipt of a lawful summons. No agency or individual shall institute unlawful criminal trials. It was unlawful for the personnel of the "Mass Visitors' Office" of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau to try a visitor without following any lawful procedure.

"They Stopped Me When I Tried To Leave"--the Beginning of My Unlawful Detention

Having failed to get what they wanted, these personnel left the room, probably to telephone their superior for instructions, to report on the case and make recommendations.

Meanwhile, a fuming, angry man over 40 entered the room and shouted at me: "Liu Qing, this is an agency of the dictatorship. You have come in and it won't be easy to get out. Don't think you are so important. We know how to handle a lad like you. You must answer my questions or else you cannot leave here."

Then he shouted at the top of his voice: "Do you dare to seek redress for Wei Jingsheng? Do you dare, do you dare?"

What could I say to him? But I asked old man Wang, who seemed to be the leader of the four, to consider the angry man's attitude, as anger was not likely to resolve the problem. Old Wang disagreed and pointed out: "This is an agency of the dictatorship." I leaned over the desk to catch some sleep while the room was filled with the fuming and shouting of this angry man. He kept shouting for about 15 minutes and finally dashed out of the room still fuming and choked with foaming saliva in his lips.

Yang Jing and the other three came in and said: "Let's go home now" I tried to leave but the personnel working in the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" stopped me. This marked the beginning of my detention.

It was very cold that night. I had only a sweater and felt practically frozen stiff. The following day I declared that a detention that was not carried out in accordance with legal procedure was kidnapping and I went on a hunger strike to register my protest. By noontime, a man over 40, accompanied by a woman over 20 and a bespectacled man who had taken notes the evening before, sat facing me while I curled up on a sofa without moving. After a minute or two, he asked my name in a soft voice. Then he said they had decided to detain me. I turned around a little and asked: "What for?"

He got to his feet all of a sudden and said aloud: "Get up and listen to the decision I am going to read to you." He pulled out a piece of paper and read it to me. I asked to see the paper. It was a form printed in black on newsprint. My name was filled in in the space for detainee, the reason given was violation of the maintenance of social order, and the duration of detention was 15 days. I returned the paper to him without saying a word as he waited for my response. He remained silent because I had to consider the case in the light of my knowledge of the law. He signaled to the two who came with him: "Take him away."

I entered a sedan flanked by a policeman and the bespectacled man. I asked the "bespectacled" man to provide me paper and pen because I wanted to exercise my legal right to sue the Public Security Bureau for unwarranted persecution." The "bespectacled" man simply sat there like a stick of wood, completely motionless.

Committed to the Beijing Municipal Detention Center

The young woman worked over 20 minutes to get the car past the huge iron gate of the Beijing municipal detention center. Once we were inside the gate, I remained in the car for more than an hour while the driver of the car went into the building to keep warm. Finally they called me in to go through the routine frisk and registration. Then a young policeman led me inattentively to a "cell." Before he left the office, he asked the police who handled the registration: "Send in one of our guilts. I am afraid the people in the building might refuse to take him. This a temporary detention, don't fuss over the precedents."

The first guard I ran into was named Hao, a friendly fellow. He said to me: "Our duty is to keep you here, no matter what your problem is. You must obey the rules here. We will not treat you like other convicts in the cell; we won't force you

to shave your head." He was right. I kept my long hair and they had to get a barber from outside to cut my hair.

From the start I had doubts about the authenticity of that piece of detention paper. Then after listening to what they said, I became convinced that the detention paper they showed me was a fabrication. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was playing unlawful tricks to intimidate me and save its own skin. The first step it took to handle the incident was illegal. In my judgment, it had to go all the way to complete the "journey" in order to save face.

The suspicion I had at first was later confirmed by what I learned from the guards during my prolonged solitary confinement. I spoke to Liu Jingyu, chief of guards in Row 2, about my suspicions and asked him to confirm them. He said: "I do not know whether your detention procedure is authentic or fabricated (of course he knew). Once the front gate admitted you, I have to receive you. If you have doubts, I will submit them to my superior for an answer."

When Old Wu, the chief of guards in Row 6 forced me to obey the humiliating rules of the detention center, I protested: "I have not been convicted. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau detained me unlawfully because they did not arrest me in accordance with legal procedure, nor did they detain me in accordance with proper procedures.... He said to me: "We know your situation very well. You say you are a realist. Then you ought to wait patiently for a solution...." A young guard by the name of Wang in Row 6 was even more straightforward.

He said in front of all the detainees of No 9, Row 6: "There is always room for discretion even if you act in accordance with legal procedure, and there are always exceptions. We have to lock anyone committed by orders issued by the chief of the public Security Bureau, the mayor of Beijing, the secretary general or a member of the Standing Committee, even though he is not processed in accordance with legal procedures."

After All, What Law Did I Violate?

The reason for the detention was absurd. The "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" had become practically an omnipotent weapon of the Public Security Bureau.

Later, I read very carefully the "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" promulgated in 1980, which contains only one provision on the sale of periodicals and printed matter: "The sale of reactionary, pornographic, obscene publications and pictures already banned shall not be permitted." Obviously my mimeographed pamphlets could not be rated as pornographic or obscene. Moreover, the proceedings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the Beijing Higher Court could not be called reactionary. I was the first one to mimeograph the transcript, so the pamphlets did not qualify as "already banned." On the basis of the newly promulgated "Regulations," I did not violate any law.

Consequently, I asked the interrogator: "What are my mistakes and how are they related to the law?"

"Wei Jingsheng has been pronounced a counterrevolutionary by the court. Your sale of the pamphlets was propaganda on his behalf. That is a very grave mistake," the interrogator explained.

I grinned: "What I offered for sale was the recording of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the court, without any comment by anybody. If you call that propaganda on behalf of a counterrevolutionary, aren't you saying that the trial proceedings of the court are propaganda activities on behalf of a counterrevolutionary?"

He did not answer my question, but shouted back in anger: "Nonsense, you insult the court, you insult the law enforcement organs."

Like the Russian troops "invited" to Afghanistan without any solid justification for the "invitation," the Public Security Bureau was not able to pinpoint any specific provision of the law to answer my question about the legal basis of my detention.

Solitary Confinement for 5 Months

At first I was locked in No 9, Row 12, building REN of the Beijing municipal detention center. I was the only one locked in a room 15 square meters in size. It was at the end of the building, damp, gloomy and cold. I had to bundle up in a cotton-padded garment and curl up in a corner. For a time the joints of my left foot gave me so much pain that I had to grit my teeth every time I walked.

Later, they moved me to Row 2.

Row 2 was the most unique in the entire detention center. Instead of peeping stealthily at a mirror on the air vent of the door to keep an eye on what went on in each cell, the guards depended on television to do the surveillance work. Although I was not able to verify this, I know that whenever I touched the window, the guards were alerted immediately. Perhaps they had installed some kind of alarm device. When the guards pushed a button to open the door, there was always a frightening noise. A guard in his office could hear what the inmates were talking about because there were loudspeakers on both sides. One pushed a button on the cell door to get in touch with the guards. The radiator control and light switch were not inside the cells as in the other Rows. They were on the wall covered with a heavy metal screen. Here the lights were on 24 hours a day, sometimes glaringly bright and sometimes so dim that one could hardly read a newspaper. When I was in No 4, Row 2, I saw angry remarks written on the cell wall by Wang Zhenxiong, an overseas Chinese from California, who had marched with Fu Yuehua in a demonstration and had been secretly arrested without due process of law. I could still make out messages left behind by those arrested during the "5 April" period. Later, when I moved to No 10, Kuai Dafu was my nextdoor neighbor in No 11, and Sun Fengyi, the second person to put his signature on "the "First Marxist Big Character Poster," was in No 18, across the hallway. Finally, I found out that Chen Lu, who used to handle the organizational work for the "Human Rights League," was in a cell facing mine. I learned from what he had told the guards that he had been "invited" over by two plainclothes policemen for a talk. I left him a message on the toilet wall: "Greetings from No 76 to Tianjing No 2 (No 2 was a liaison point of the Human Rights League and No 76 was my home address. Victory depends on persistent pursuit of truth." He never answered my greetings. Wei Rongling told me later that he had been rather pessimistic about the democratic movement. But we succeeded in meeting twice to exchange greetings when we lined up to receive our means. The guards must have become aware of our secret, because Chen Lu was moved away all of a sudden.

I was in solitary confinement, in Row 12 and Row 2, for 5 months. When I was in Row 12, a young guard asked me whether I was bored and would like to have a companion. I said of course I would. He said he would try to take up the matter with his superior. The next time we met, he did not say a word but gestured with his hands to show disappointment. Solitary confinement is illegal even for a convict accorded due process of law. In 1979, Zhao Congbi [6392 5547 1048], minister of public security, issued a circular banning solitary confinement. This was a minimum protection of human rights. Solitary confinement is detrimental to the physical and mental health of the inmate. It is an absolutely unnecessary, inhumane and cruel persecution.

Once I stayed in the same cell with Hong Guantao, who had seized over 100 boxes filled with documents belonging to the United Front Department at the beginning of the Great Cultural Revolution and whose name had appeared in the trial of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He was committed to solitary confinement for 8 years, followed by 3 years of reeducation through labor. He was arrested again within 1 month after his release, and had been locked up again for nearly 3 years already. Although he had been out of solitary confinement for 5 years, he still could not speak clearly. He felt such numbness in his tongue that speaking was hard work. The emotional injury he sustained was even more obvious. He told me when he was in solitary confinement that the guard tried to kill him and fed him poison. He said he managed to keep some of the poison as evidence to charge them once he was released. More dreadful still was his account of a sensitive electronic device in his cell which could control his thoughts and induce him to think about the evidence the authorities needed. He said it could also record his thoughts so they could be used against him the next day during interrogation. He claimed the device kept prompting him to commit suicide. He thought like a normal person the moment he stopped talking about those things.

His mental condition reminded me of another friend, Guo Lusheng, whose celebrated poem, "Have Faith in the Future," was treasured 10 years by the youth of the whole country. His protracted suspicion that people were controlling his thoughts led him to schizophrenia. After he was cured, he still seemed a bit abnormal. His old illness returned just a few days after the conviction of Wei Jingsheng, and he ended up in Dingan Hospital (a mental hospital). He and Wei Jingsheng were very close. They were neighbors and went to the same elementary school.

My solitary confinement was rather short and did not hurt me much. However, I noticed a few changes. One day I saw lots of loose hair on my blanket. When I looked into the little mirror on the door vent, I discovered I had begun losing my hair and was bald on top. The cell was so gloomy and cold that I had to curl up in a corner. That may very well have been cause of the swelling and pain in my left foot. I had been nearsighted for a long time, but it became worse. I sometimes talked to myself as if engaged in a heated debate. I also recalled mathematical and chemical formulas and wrote signs and symbols on the wall as if trying to solve problems. I missed my mother and felt grieved by the trouble I was causing her in her old age.

I realized that my efforts to regain freedom were futile because my interrogators and their superiors who gave them instructions would not and could not let a legally free man return to freedom. They wanted the persecuted to plead guilty in order to show that their unlawful acts were lawful and correct. That was why I made up my mind right from the beginning to smash the attempt of the interrogators. In fact, I launched a protracted contest of willpower, intelligence and memory with the interrogators.

Interrogation--Contest of Willpower

The first interrogator questioned me only once and never returned. The second interrogator was a whitehaired man over 60, but he still remembered things very well. He loved to brag about himself. He told me many times that he had been cultivated by the party for decades, that he was one of the group of victims of the criminal acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that I must not treat him the way I treated Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

But as far as I was concerned, both the first interrogator and the second interrogator were wrong. With justice on my side, I was bold and assured. Sometimes I remained silent and sometimes I argued vehemently, always insisting on the importance of the "law." They had neither legal grounds nor good justification for reprimanding me.

The whitehaired interrogator told me that they were considering me for detention and that as soon as the study was over, I would know the reasons and the final decision.

I said there must be grounds to consider me for detention. There had to be something to justify my detention--my conduct, a pending case against me, suspicions or grounds for suspicion. Even if they were classified, I told him, you should at least give me a general idea. I cannot accept "the wishes of senior officials" as grounds to book me for detention.

He came 2 days later to tell me that the legal ground for detention was a 1949 State Council decree on the right of news reporting. Then he read me a summary of its provisions: The right to report all important news, such as government organization, proclamations, state business, foreign relations, warfare, important construction projects, the discovery of important mineral resources, and cases of nationwide importance, is assigned to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. Unless authorized by the State Council, no newspaper, publication or periodical shall report such matters. The interrogator said: Wei Jingsheng's case was a case of nationwide importance; you violated the decree by mimeographing the pamphlets.

After detaining me for nearly 10 days, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau finally came up with a written decree to justify my detention. Even though it came a bit late, it still represented some plausible progress in law enforcement in China. They no longer believed that whatever they did was lawful as long as it was in the interest of the "proletarian dictatorship." Instead, they wanted to have something written to prove the legality of their actions. But was this decree applicable to my case? My answer was "no." News always stands for a piece of new information reported to the public for the very first time. If it had been reported already, it would be difficult to regard it as news. Wei Jingsheng was tried by the Beijing Higher Court on 16 October. BEIJING RIBAO carried the news on 17 October, and other papers simply relayed its version. In fact, all important foreign newspapers, publications and news agencies also carried reports on the case. Many foreign journalists wrote voluminously about the case. As a matter of fact, reports and comments on the case also multiplied in China. I offered the pamphlets for sale on 11 November, long after the case had been so colorfully covered by the press, nearly 1 month after the first trial and quite a few days after the second trial. Any reasonable person would agree that it was no longer news or even "old news."

The 1949 State Council decree assigned the exclusive right to report all important news to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. But BEIJING RIBAO was the first one to report Wei's trial, while RENMIN RIBAO and other papers simply relayed the BEIJING RIBAO account. This showed that the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY did not regard Wei's trial as important news falling within its exclusive reporting right. Consequently, it did not cover the trial, nor did it publish any report. BEIJING RIBAO also did not consider that it contravened any law in covering and reporting the case. If the decree had in fact been violated, BEIJING RIBAO should have been the first offender to face prosecution, while the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY might have been suspected of dereliction of duty. I doubted that BEIJING RIBAO and NCNA would accept the interpretation of the decree by the Public Security Bureau.

The government could always find grounds to incriminate a person. However, if they wanted to have "grounds" for incrimination, they should have weighed carefully the "grounds" they had. Their efforts would be self-defeating if the "grounds" left too many loopholes for the public to gauge the real motive behind them.

Even though I intended to spurn such a legal ground, I still made it clear that the provision was not applicable in my case. The interrogator apparently did not find the ground very convincing because he did not try to defend it as he should have.

"Let Me Tell You We Have Many Different Ways to Handle You"

After a few arguments, he became quite blunt and handed me a kind of "ultimatum." He said: "Your attitude is unacceptable, even if you did not violate any law. You cannot refuse to answer my questions. Let me tell you, we have many different ways to handle you. We can tell the public what kind of person you are, and you are by no means faultless. We can tell the foreigners who are interested in you what kind of person you are. We can convict you in accordance with old precedents, the unwritten law which evolved in our internal policy or other established practices. We can also lock you up indefinitely and make you serve your time as long as we want. Let me remind you that the 'criminal code' will not take effect until 1980. Now it is 1979 and we can decide the case in accordance with previous practices."

He was telling me bluntly that they did not have to act in accordance with the law and could do what they wanted to do. Moreover, they were threatening me openly. A few days before, the whitehaired interrogator had made veiled threats on more than one occasion, but I had played dumb and showed no sign of concern. In threatening me, he said that I had concealed my real age and changed my personal history when I applied for college and that I had filled out my own sick leave slips for the unit I worked for.

These measures the Public Security Bureau used were not news to me. After Ren Wandong, Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua and others were arrested, there were rumors based on information from the Public Security Bureau that so and so was a member of a counterrevolutionary group, had been smuggled across the national border to work with the enemy, and received huge sums of money from Taiwan and Western countries to run intelligence operations and carry out subversive activities, and that so and so led a loose life and used to sneak into foreign embassies to practice prostitution.

After my detention began, I had expected to hear rumors like that even without being reminded by the interrogator. What he told me led me to believe they had already done what I had suspected.

The fact the Public Security Bureau wanted to resort to "many different ways" to deal with me showed that to defend its own dignity, the Public Security Bureau would not hesitate to "discipline" a person whom it had no legal authority to punish but who refused to bow in submission to its "overpowering" authority.

My only option then was to appeal to the judicial departments against the unlawful acts of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Although this might be meaningless or even an exercise in futility, it would at least raise questions about whether the Chinese law enforcement organs were governed by law or were subservient to force or simply political weathervanes.

To File Charges Against the Public Security Bureau

Right after I was incarcerated, I asked the guard to provide me with paper and pen because I wanted to exercise my lawful right to file charges against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The guard refused my request on all sorts of excuses. The interrogator also tried to dodge the issue. So I decided to be more conciliatory and stopped talking about filing charges. Later Liu Jingyu, chief guard in Row 2, who thought I was unlawfully detained, gave me the paper and pen I requested. He told me the detention center had to report to its superior authority on the conditions in the center once every few days and could ask for a solution to or reprocessing of pending cases. On 21 January 1980, about 3 days after my interrogator had asked me to give in, I handed Liu Jingyu my letter addressed to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate to lodge my complaints against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Liu told me afterward that my letter plus their comments had been forwarded to the superior organ. I waited patiently for more than 2 months, but nothing happened. I could no longer get to see the whitehaired interrogator who used to interrogate me practically every day. He seemed to have disappeared after he interrogated me for the last time on 18 January.

Some 2 months later, when I tried to contact Liu Jingyu, he avoided me. Even when I ran into him while lined up for food, he refused to talk to me and pretended to have forgotten what he had promised. I was so frustrated that I finally shouted aloud to get him to talk to me. The first thing he told me was that the letter had been forwarded to the higher authority but no reply had been received even though one had been requested several times. He knew I was terribly worried and had been trying to get in touch with him to clarify the matter. He said he had tried to avoid me because he knew so little that he did not have any news for me. His authority was limited to reporting on the conditions in the center and he had no authority to set me free. At first I was angry and thought all the policemen were making things difficult for me. I calmed down after listening to his explanation, but I asked him to provide me with about 60 sheets of paper. Instead of appealing again to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate, which I no longer trusted, I decided to write to the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China. Each letter was over 20 pages long and contained more details than the one I had written previously. By the time I finished the letter, I was moved to a large cell in Row 7. On 5 April I handed the letter to old Yuan, a friendly guard for both Row 6 and Row 7. That was 10 months ago and I have not had any response as yet.

Any government unit, according to applicable regulations, must examine very carefully any letter of complaint it receives no matter whether it is within its scope

of authority. If it is, the matter should be handled promptly and properly. If it is not within its scope of authority, it has to forward the letter to the unit concerned. Whatever the outcome, the complainant must be notified by mail within 2 months after receipt of his letter of complaint. My letter of complaint contained charges against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau for its unlawful detention of a citizen, interrogations conducted to extort confession, fabrication of detention papers, solitary confinement and persecution, and other criminal acts. These are within the jurisdiction of the court and the procuratorate. And yet they are still unanswered.

Humiliation, Torture and "Wearing Gas Mask"

On the third day after I became angry with Liu Jingyu, I was moved from a maximum security prison row, Row 2, to a large cell full of convicted inmates. This was a serious change, a sign of grave consequence. When I was in Row 12, even my sympathetic guard was unable to get permission to get me a cellmate, and yet later I was moved into a cell with tens of other convicts. The situation must have changed. If they could not subdue me by leniency coupled with firmness, they might do something drastic to me. I talked with Kuai Dafu's friend. He thought they might pronounce me formally arrested. That was what I had been looking for, because that would give me an opportunity to defend myself in court on the strength of specific legal provisions and end the situation of having to deal with the Public Security Bureau, which may also have been applying pressure to force me to give in. If so, they must have figured that I was simple and easy to handle. No matter what happened, I had made up my mind to keep asking the detention authorities to report to their superiors on the question of my unlawful detention, to ask them to act according to legal procedures and to tell my fellow inmates my condition and let more people know about the unlawful acts of the Public Security Bureau. In fact, my story actually won a considerable amount of sympathy. Some fellow inmates were indignant, while others even confronted the detention authorities with my case. Embarrassed and dumfounded, the guards either pretended that they knew nothing about the case or that they believed that exceptions were always possible.

I was so inexperienced that I did not realize how mean the Public Security Bureau was and had no idea that it might look for loopholes instead of lawful grounds to teach me a punishing lesson. But my cellmates--including Yue Zhenping of the Shilou Production Brigade, Shilou Commune, Fangshanxian; Jia Mao, who was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment on trumped-up charges and was still serving time due to complications in his appeal for redress; Li Anjiang, who was serving a 6-year sentence for speculative profiteering and fraudulent acquisition of supplies; Hong Tao, whom I mentioned above; and Yu Haibin, son of a cadre--who know the Public Security Bureau very well, had thought about the possibility and warned me what to expect. Yue Zhenping's mimic account was the most vivid: "You say you didn't make any mistake; fine. You say you didn't violate the law; fine. We are not going to convict you. What we want is to send you away for reeducation through labor. We can send anyone away for reeducation through labor if we believe he needs it. That's for your own good. Although you have not violated the law, you may still do something wrong or break the law. You are a dangerous potential wrongdoer and law-breaker. We will send you away for reeducation through labor to stop you from making more serious mistakes." Making a mock angry gesture, he concluded his presentation in a rather comic tone: "My friend, for the sake of your health and safety, I'll devour you. You can rest assured you'll be safe and sound in my digestive tract."

They were right. I will discuss this a bit later. I am very grateful to my fellow sufferers. Crowded in one cell, we became close friends, even though some had broken the law and some had not. Their advice was timely enough for me to understand that the Public Security Bureau could be both autocratic and "mean" and that I should be prepared to face their despicable actions calmly.

I appreciated especially the support they gave me when I clashed with the guards for refusing to comply with their humiliating rules. One day when the inmates were let out for exercise, the guards suddenly ordered all the inmates in some rows to put both hands on the lower half of their bellies, while those of the other rows were told to walk slowly with their heads down. I told the guards I would not do this for two reasons. First, I was not a convict but had been detained unlawfully by the Public Security Bureau, and the rules of the detention center were not applicable to me. Second, it is against the law to impose humiliating rules on convicts. All my fellow sufferers joined me in resisting the order, but the guards forced them to give in. They were very angry when the guards tortured me for resisting their order. Some even questioned the right of the guards to punish a person unlawfully detained without due process of law. Yue Zhengping was so indignant that he asked for paper and pen to prepare charges against the Public Security Bureau for unlawful detention and brutality. Afraid to let me return to No 9, Row 6, the guards locked me once more in a small cell. Every time my fellow sufferers passed by (to go to the toilet), they would knock on my cell door to express their concern.

When they brought me to the small cell, I was full of bruises, handcuffed and wearing a gas mask which made breathing extremely difficult. There were two other inmates in the cell. One was Luo Xinguo, a pickpocket who had drifted from Shaanxi to Beijing. The other was Wei Rongling who, according to his own story, was once an assistant section chief of the PLA General Political Department and had served as a guard to Zhang Chunqiao and Jiang Qing.

Running into Wei Jingsheng

Wei Rongling used to be my cellmate in No 9, Row 6. He said he had done a year's hard labor in the death row (Row 23) and told me stories about the death row inmates. When he found out I was Liu Qing, he told me a few things about Wei Jingsheng. He said Wei Jingsheng, who was locked in the death row after he was sentenced, had left some writing with him for delivery to Lu Lin or myself when he was released. But the guard took it away and gave him a hard time over the writing. At first I did not believe what he said because by the time he told me the story, Wei Jingsheng had been sentenced by the Higher Court for nearly 8 months and should have been committed to a reform-through-labor unit to serve his time. How could he still be in the detention center? But Wei Rongling was right. The proletarian dictatorship is indeed unpredictable. On 1 July 1980, when I was on my way from the exercise ground back to my cell, I ran into Wei Jingsheng, ashen and thin. He looked puzzled and tormented when he saw me. Escorted by two interrogators, he walked by me in silence.

I also met Zhang Wenhe, the most radical member of the "Human Rights League." Still irrepressible in prison, he always protested and argued with the guards, who really give him a hard time. With his hands handcuffed behind him for months, he found it very hard to take his good, to go the toilet, to sleep or to change clothes. He had to wear a helmet and a gas mask and he was beaten repeatedly. He was locked

on No 1, just across the hall from No 9. I always lined up immediately ahead of him during the exercise time. We sometimes managed to slow down to exchange a few words or shake hands.

Committed to the Lianhua Temple Labor Camp in Shaanxi

On 21 July, two policemen came and told me to pack up and get ready to go to a work unit in Shaanxi. In reality, they were sending me to a reform-through-labor unit, that is, the Second Detachment for Reeducation Through Labor in Shaanxi, at the Lianhua Temple, Huaxian, Shaanxi Province. It was there that they pronounced me committed to 3 years of reeducation through labor. I just could not believe that the Public Security Bureau was so deceitful that it depended on telling lies to sustain its authority. Maybe the bureau was such a pragmatic agency that it was not concerned about the means by which it achieved its ends. But I think the means one uses and one's innermost intentions should always agree.

The Lianhua Temple is a prison for reform through labor. It was designed to house convicts serving long prison terms. Now it takes in practically anybody. According to the guards, there are five different categories of inmates: those committed to reform through labor, those serving time, those for reeducation through labor, those committed to hard labor, and those convicted of job offenses. The prison is inside a 5-meter-high gray surrounding wall topped with meshed live wire. There is a watchtower at each corner guarded by armed soldiers pacing back and forth. One has to pass through four gates, one after another, to get into the building. These gates serve as checkpoints and markers of the checkerboard-like cubicles which house the four categories of inmates other than job offenders. The work the inmates do, including hauling heavy stones, is very taxing. The criminal convicts are assigned so-called technical work--actually lighter and easier jobs. Heavy manual jobs are handled by those committed to hard labor and reeducation through labor. The criminal convicts, trusted by the guards, form the core of a detachment of inmates. In addition to their unquestioning obedience and seniority in prison residence, this trust in the criminal convicts rests mainly on questionable relations between the guards and the convicts, including joint smuggling ventures and other underhand dealings. How do the criminal convicts, deprived of their political rights, differ from the wrongdoers who still enjoy their political rights but have been committed to reeducation through labor or hard labor? As far as I can see, the difference lies in a trifling point of wording. Take the "Rules Governing Observance of Law by Convicts Under Reform Through Labor" and the "Rules of Conduct for Those Receiving Reeducation Through Labor," for example. These two sets of rules are practically identical, except the criminal convicts are required "to plead guilty and obey the law," while those committed to reeducation through labor are required "to admit wrongdoing and accept reeducation." I doubt that the officials in charge know the difference between reform through labor, hard labor and reeducation through labor, because all the inmates work under identical conditions.

Innocent "Convicts"--Those Committed to Reeducation Through Labor

As a principle of constitutional law, there are two kinds of people in any society, namely, citizens with civil rights and criminal convicts deprived of civil rights. But actually there is a third kind: those who are nominally citizens but actually "criminal convicts" without any civil rights, i.e., those committed to hard labor, reeducation through labor and so on. There is no constitutional basis for the

existence of this particular category of people. An order of the State Council alone cannot deprive a person of his civil rights. In other words, only the court, authorized by law, may declare a citizen a criminal convict. To permit the Public Security Bureau to exercise the power to convict a person and make a citizen "enjoy" the treatment of criminal convicts is to set up a "special court." With unlimited power to commit anyone it does not like or considers needs reeducating to reeducation through labor, this court may make the person a criminal convict in fact though not in name. It does not have to indict and try him. Once a decision is reached, he immediately starts to serve his time without any opportunity for appeal. He is therefore worse off than a criminal convict. In the case of criminal conviction, before the criminal is brought to trial, the procuratorate must decide whether he may be lawfully apprehended. Then the court has to examine the case and decide whether to try him. The defendant receives his indictment before the trial so that he may defend himself against the charges in court. Once he is convicted, he may appeal to a higher court and is entitled to appeal even when he serves his time. As for one who is committed to reeducation through labor, he does not have an opportunity or the right to present his case and defend himself. He has to do what he is told. The party makes all the necessary arrangements for him to be content to be a "criminal convict" in fact though not necessarily in name.

Of course I still remember the Committee on Reeducation Through Labor, a screening organ of reeducation through labor--a windowdressing only. It did no more than take notice of what the Public Security Bureau did. The procuratorate which scrutinized the program of reeducation through labor was also a showpiece. Many inmates in the units for reeducation through labor was also a showpiece. Many inmates in the units for reeducation through labor where I stayed wrote letters of complaint to the procuratorate to seek redress. What they got in return was a form letter of acknowledgement stating that the case had been forwarded to the Public Security Bureau and advising the complainant to contact the latter directly. I do not know what is the use of having the procuratorate if it acts only as a receptionist instead of investigating the complaints and correcting injustices already inflicted. This is due to the ambiguity of the regulations governing reeducation through labor, which states: "Anyone the public security agencies find necessary to reeducate through labor" may be committed to reeducation through labor. How can anyone ever stop the Public Security Bureau from exercising the power to render final decisions which is expressly given to it?

Reeducation through labor, which strips the constitutional rights of a citizen, is unconstitutional and should not be permitted under a constitution. Nor is it justifiable in actual enforcement of the law. The penalties meted out to lawbreakers should be graded according to the seriousness of an offense, ranging from capital punishment for felonious crimes to lesser penalties for misdemeanors, including imprisonment, probational custody, detention and fines. There is no need for a wide variety of devices to give the Public Security Bureau "omnipotent weapons" to harass the citizens at will.

Reeducation Through Labor--a Legal Loophole

I have noticed a number of irregularities at the camp for reeducation through labor. First, there are people who were committed to reeducation through labor not necessarily for any infraction of the law or public order, but for having courted the displeasure of a higher level leadership or the Public Security Bureau. For in-

stance, Shi Jinsheng, an apprentice at the Hongan Company, Shaanxi, once got into an auditorium without an admission ticket to watch a performance put on by the company. It was a minor matter which occurs quite often. Moreover, the company usually let people watch the performance free after it had been on for half an hour. But Shi Jinsheng was taken to the guard's office, where they beat him so hard that he had to hit back. He was thereupon taken immediately to the Public Security Bureau for detention and then sent back to the factory to face struggles. His tutor, Yu Zhenghai, infuriated by the injustice, blamed the chief of the workshop and the factory security section for what had happened. As a result, both were committed to reeducation through labor for 2 years. If Shi Jinsheng had disturbed public order, he might have been placed under custody for reeducation, but certainly not committed to "incarceration for 2 years." The punishment meted out to his tutor was so outrageous that even the guard at the Second Detachment for Reeducation Through Labor said it was unfair.

Second, certain felonious lawbreakers who deserved severe punishment often got their sentences reduced to reform through labor. Then they lobbied through a network of "relations" to get themselves released for medical treatment and serve their time of reeducation through labor at home. Take another example. There was a gang which had broken into people's houses to steal, and had stolen over 1,000 jin of copper ingot from a factory. Yet they were committed to only 2 years of reeducation through labor, and they lobbied successfully to get released sooner.

Third, a person charged with lawbreaking or serious wrongdoing who has been acquitted after administrative detention and "prolonged investigation" may be recommitted to reeducation through labor to help make up an assigned quota of commitments. Zhou Donglin, charged with theft, was acquitted after detention and investigation. Repenting what he had done, he decided to redeem himself by following the good example of Lei Feng. A year later, he was arrested for no specific reason and re-committed to reeducation through labor. When he asked the reason for his arrest, he was told it was that old case of theft for which he had been detained for a year. They also told him they "could go back to old charges if there were no new charges." I think this implies a "revolving door" which will keep turning.

Fourth, when a felonious lawbreaker or wrongdoer is not caught red-handed and cannot be turned over to the court for lack of solid evidence or confession he may still be committed to reeducation through labor on the strength of a suspicion or circumstantial evidence. Cases like this often lead to extreme injustice.

The public is baffled by that fact that the law enforcement organs are left with so many legal loopholes to exercise unrestrained discretion at a time when public attention is focused on improving the legal system and the people have learned to appreciate the importance of the rule of law and a sound judicial system.

As for me, since the Public Security Bureau has no legal ground to hold me, it can only dump me into the legal loopholes.

An Uncontrollable "Automobile"-the Source of Disasters

Judging by what I have been through, China is still a country dominated by the will of the master, a country which recognizes only the will of the dominant group in the society. The people, whose will is not recognized, are obliged to accept and follow

that dominant will. Such an ideological state and mentality have not changed at all since the liberation. Instead of allowing and encouraging the people to think like masters and develop their own will, the Communist Party, which calls the people the master, expects them to surrender their will to society. The people do not realize their position as master nor do they realize the importance of not surrendering to anyone else their rights as master. What they have learned, however, is to show gratitude to the party for raising their social position and improving their material well-being. To consolidate its political power, there were campaigns following the founding of the People's Republic to eliminate the counterrevolutionaries, the three-anti and five-anti campaigns. These were soon followed by other campaigns repugnant to constitutional principles. These campaigns were so extensive, so far-reaching and involved so many that the people, unsophisticated and trusting, were baffled and fear-stricken. The people's feelings toward the Communist Party before the Cultural Revolution were gratitude and fear. As gratitude breeds blind obligations and adherence to leadership, the people no longer had the will and reasoning power to face serious social and political problems. They only knew how to follow blindly without asking why. This was responsible for such disasters as the antirightist campaign, the Great Leap Forward and the Great Cultural Revolution. Overwhelmed by party authority, nobody dared to doubt or question the decisions of the party or the existence of any social phenomenon. In spite of hunger and starvation resulting from the "Great Leap Forward," few had the courage to question and much less to criticize its errors and violations of the law of production. The people supported the policy of the party "to tempt the snakes out of the caves," even though hundreds of thousands of people were imprisoned and downgraded. Awe-stricken by the popular support enjoyed by the party, the intellectuals began to lose self-confidence. Even those who had reservations dared not speak freely, as intellectuals had become synonymous with capitalists and revisionists. The waning democratic parties and political groups, insecure and threatened, could not but "go all the way to support" the Communist Party in order to save their skins; they could not afford to do anything else. The Communist Party therefore became the only power in China, a country 9.6 million square kilometers in area (not including Taiwan). This means it enjoys unlimited power to act freely and launch any campaign it likes without encountering any restraining force, much less any opposition.

This is very abnormal (as compared to democracy) and unhealthy. Let me illustrate what I mean. Can a driver, no matter how skillful, or a computer operate a huge powerful high-speed automobile which has neither brake nor accelerator in a busy city without running into accidents and collisions or killing people? Society is very much like an automobile. Our own society is a huge powerful automobile which can run at high speed. The trouble is that the Communist Party, the driver who has too much confidence in its driving skill, has removed its brake and accelerator, which it regards as "impediments" to speed. That is why this "automobile" of ours has been dashing around madly into disasters.

Although it is still held together after having been driven for 30 years, it has run into grave dangers on rough roads where it can neither adjust its speed nor stop. It is practically worn out. Now, if the brake and accelerator are not put back, the car and its passengers will head toward destruction in the not too distant future.

Concluding Remarks

As I have to ask someone to take this letter out of the prison, I have no time to write any more.

Looking back, I see the shadow of history where I ran into Luo Ke, Zhang Zhixin, Ma Mianzhen, and Shi Yunfeng... who were deprived of the right to live for saying and doing what I have done, while I am "mercifully" committed to only 3 years of reeducation through labor. I am touched by a bit of painful irony. As long as history marches on, the blood of heroes is not shed in vain...

Looking ahead, I see our nation burdened with the weight of history, entangled in a web of conflicting interests, and pulled backward by conservative forces. Heavy-hearted, I realized life and blood are essential to fuel the onward march of history, but I cannot help feeling distressed...

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HONG KONG PROFESSOR ON RULE OF LAW IN CHINA

HK171408 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 8 Nov 81 p 9

[Article by Mou Jun-sun [3664 3387 1327], Professor at Chinese University of Hong Kong: "On Thoroughly Instituting the Rule of Law"]

[Text] It is said that, in the not too distant future, the fourth session of the Fifth NPC will be convened and that topics such as the revision of the constitution, the readjustment of production, the development of the economy, progress and unification are found to be discussed. Among the many topics for discussion, the most important should be the question of how to thoroughly institute the rule of the law, severely punish those who engage in corruption, and eliminate bureaucracy. In the course of the session they should draw up a clear-cut, unequivocal plan to deal with these topics. After the session, the plan should be conscientiously and thoroughly carried out. Only then will there be any hope and future for China's great move to bring order out of chaos. Otherwise, though the lives of the peasants may have been improved, the policy on readjusting light and heavy industries implemented, production highly developed and economic prosperity achieved, the goal of national order will still not have been reached and the hope of the pragmatic leaders in the CCP Central Committee of making the country strong and prosperous will still be impossible to realize.

The CCP has 38 million members, quite a number of who do not maintain party discipline and seek special privileges. They strive to safeguard their own individual interests and, needless to say, cling to their posts, thus bringing about the life-long tenure system for cadres. On 2 January, Deng Xiaoping was quoted by a newspaper as saying that cadres who show laxity in discipline and who are corrupt should be purged. This shows the seriousness of the problem. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, CCP members were highly disciplined. Even in the period immediately after liberation, party members did not show any laxity in discipline. We could not have known that there would later be people who were arrogant about their achievements, having gradually forgotten the original ideals of the revolution (people like Kang Sheng and Lin Biao). However, there were, in fact, not that many party members who had changed or whose minds had ossified. In the course of the 10 years of disorder brought about by the cultural revolution, in the name of revolt and seizing power, the number of party members increased sharply, and so the number of substandard party members rose. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," these people, who had wormed their way in, have still not been removed. People who had jumped on the bandwagon are still riding high.

Antirightists and victims of the cultural revolution are now a bit more wary. Some have lost their upright and indomitable courage to advance forward and merely echo what others say. Some have even sought special privileges to make up for the losses they suffered during their opposition to rightism or to the cultural revolution. Faced with such a large number of bureaucratic cadres, the problem of how to carry out rectification is truly both a headache and a knotty problem for the central leadership authorities.

When using party discipline to deal with party members who have committed errors, we should adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism. From a functional point of view, this method has very little effect. As for the leadership or other party members putting forth criticism, whether they publish articles in magazines or whether they express their criticism at meetings, there is a basic need for the party member who has committed an error to have a sense of shame and a willingness to repent and mend his ways. If he does not think that he is at fault, if he does not think that he has done anything to be ashamed of, he may, when being criticized, show a willingness to repent and mend his ways and accept the teachings of the party only in order to extricate himself from his predicament. But afterwards, he will still be the same old person, showing none of the willingness to repent and mend his ways. This kind of criticism is only a waste of time and is nothing more than a farce.

While on the subject of self-criticism, it seems as though it is rather similar to the method of moral self-cultivation put forth by the Song and Ming neo-Confucianists called "examining one's moral character with a view to reform." Neo-Confucianists talked all the time about "preserving one's natural sense of justice and doing away with human desire." They said that people should constantly "suppress their personal instincts and examine themselves," much like Zeng Can "examined himself on three points" every day. The neo-Confucianists aspired to be "sages" or "capable and virtuous people." They had, as standards for moral self-cultivation, Confucian classics and neo-Confucian quotations. In order to put theory into practice, they constantly had to examine their utterances to see if they accorded with morality. This kind of moral self-examination was difficult. According to the history books, some neo-Confucianists did quite a good job, while others did not do so well. As for those whose self-examination work was insufficient, quite a few of them became hypocrites and pseudo-Confucianists. However, they always had their own basic way of putting Confucian morality into practice.

The self-examination of the neo-Confucianists was akin to the Buddhists' "seeking perfection in scholastic or ethical pursuits" and was a philosopher's way of moral self-cultivation, although it was unsuitable for governing a country or for keeping officials under control. Three Qing emperors, Kang Xi, Yong Zheng, and Qian Long used neo-Confucianism to rule China and constantly criticized officials and the people for harboring evil intentions and not behaving according to their natural sense of justice. They were subjected to the sanctions of the criminal law. Although an official was sometimes taught to ponder over his mistakes in seclusion, he was first dismissed from office. Although they advocated Confucian morality, the Qing emperors did not use morality to govern the country, but laws.

CCP members believe in Marxism-Leninism and should naturally obey the party leadership. If a person is a loyal party member and has the morality of a party member, and his words or thoughts are not in keeping with Marxism-Leninism, it should be

enough for leaders or other party members to criticize or ask that person to undertake self-criticism since he is a person imbued with the morality of the party. If he is a degenerate or an opportunist or he bends with the wind, it is futile to use this criticism method, which is similar to moral self-cultivation, to correct his errors.

This applies especially where party members have committed serious error. While the sanctions of party discipline are necessary, they cannot completely replace the laws of the state. If the party member has committed only a minor error, one which merely constitutes a breach of party discipline and has not placed the country in jeopardy or caused it to suffer a loss, there is naturally no need for him to be punished according to the laws of the state. If the party member has committed a serious error, one which harms the people of the country and which contravenes the laws of the state, the sanctions of party discipline cannot replace the punishment prescribed by the laws of the state, let alone trying to deal with this through the method of criticism and moral self-cultivation.

Everyone knows that, for the sake of the party, the country, and its people, the most important thing at present is the thorough and overall institution of the rule of law. That is to say, we must have a highly disciplined party to lead party members who observe party discipline and abide by the laws of the state. Only then can a high degree of order be achieved in the country, can the people be served, and can the mission of building a strong, prosperous and stable socialist country be completed. However, the task of the thorough implementation of the ideal of rule of law is fraught with difficulties. If we carry out the following two items of work, the thorough implementation of the rule of law may perhaps be achieved:

1. The highest leading group of the central authorities should give, to all party members, a detailed explanation of the national condition as well as of the responsibility and mission of party members (the central authorities should summon leaders and those responsible for judicial affairs and party discipline at the county level and above to the capital for training--guidance should be carried out in stages and in groups). The importance of abiding by the laws of the state and observing party discipline should be explained. The reasons behind the existence of executive organs separate from the party and the separation of powers must be solemnly stated. Cadres at all levels should be asked to abide by the rule that the party should take the lead in politics but may not interfere with the rule of law. We must teach them to understand it, abide by it, and exhort other party members to also abide by it. Law is laid down at the national people's congress under the leadership of the party. The powers of the judiciary are bestowed, by the leaders in the party Central Committee, through the national people's congress. Individual party members cannot interfere with the judiciary, and even the party Central Committee cannot revise laws without going through the national people's congress. Although the party Central Committee leads the judiciary through the national people's congress, it cannot be said that the party is greater than the laws of the state, even less can it be said that party members are greater than the laws of the state, for even the leaders in the party Central Committee have to abide by, and obey, them.

Among the numerous party members, I think there are many who are loyal and love the party, who obey the leadership of the party Central Committee, who abide by the party's moral code and who long for the establishment of order in the country.

It is only that people have not been given the chance to display this [passage garbled] assigned according to their ability. The highest leading group of the central authorities ought to lay down clear rules and, means of elections or examinations, select for use these party members who are loyal and law-abiding, who love their country and the party and have high aspirations and a high degree of personal integrity and afford them the opportunity of contributing a reforming force to the country and party and of playing a role in the process of getting rid of the old to make way for the new.

2. Since the nationwide institution of the rule of law in 1980, the effectiveness of law has not yet become evident and even the rectification of party discipline has not yet been carried out in earnest. Thus, faced with this phenomenon, party members despise the law and show no respect for party discipline, with the result that those who uphold party discipline and justice cannot perform their duty. Apart from this, there are two other reasons.

First, neither party discipline nor the law was formulated satisfactorily. Neither was the discipline inspection committees nor the judicial bodies and organizations completely sound, with the result that in cases involving a breach of party discipline or a violation of the laws of the state, they were unable to root out evil and punish traitors. In order to make up for the above defects, we must first revise the party's code of discipline and the methods of enforcing it. For instance, party members who have committed errors should be criticized by leaders and other party members and asked to criticize themselves. Those who accept the criticism at the time, but, in fact, are unwilling to repent and mend their ways should have a demerit point notched up against them, or should be demoted or dismissed. Those who have violated the laws of the state should be stripped of their party membership and taken to the courts to be punished according to the law. Clauses must be formulated strictly and carried out thoroughly and conscientiously. Only then can party discipline be established in earnest. All the most important party discipline inspection work in the various localities should come under the direct command of the central discipline inspection commission. Local leaders at all levels from the party, government and army should be barred from taking part. Then, we must revise the legal clauses governing the punishment of corrupt officials. We must make the penalties stiffer, so that those using their position to embezzle public funds or property worth more than 3,000 yuan are sentenced to death. Where the property is worth more than 2,000 yuan, they should be sentenced to life imprisonment. Where the property is worth more than 1,000 or 500 yuan, they should be sentenced to 10 or 5 years' imprisonment respectively. Those using public office for private gain, those engaging in back door deals and those trying to establish favorable connections should, along with those with whom they are dealing, all be sentenced to 5 or 10 years. Those guilty of negligence in public affairs or who have fallen behind in their public work for 1 month should be sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. Those who have fallen behind for 2 months should be sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment and those who have fallen behind for an even greater length of time should be sentenced to between 5 and 10 years' imprisonment.

Those who commit errors in their management of affairs and who cause the country to suffer a loss or someone to lose his life should, according to the gravity of their crime, be sentenced to death, life imprisonment, or 20 years' imprisonment. Where a person is in a professional post but does not have the required professional

knowledge, both assigner and the assignee should be sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. All cadres who have been found guilty of corruption, negligence in public affairs or employing people lacking in professional qualifications should be questioned by the intermediate courts and a report should be submitted to the Supreme Court for adjudication. No party, government or military body at any level or any of their leaders or working personnel may interfere.

Second, there are not enough people doing party discipline inspection work and judicial work. Also many of the workers employed at present are incompetent. The leading authorities in the Central Committee should select people under 35 years of age who are knowledgeable, of the highest integrity and who are persevering in party discipline inspection work and judicial work in the various localities. The Central Committee should send people to examine and select university graduates majoring in social sciences (law graduates should be exempted from examinations and from training) for 2 years' legal training. People actually engaged in party discipline inspection work and judicial work, under the age of 40 and whose legal knowledge is insufficient, should also take turns to undergo training. In this way within 2 to 5 years, the nationwide lack of people engaged in party discipline inspection work and judicial work will have been completely met. Furthermore, they will all be professionals with legal training. We should set up the judicial and administrative departments as bodies for managing the training, selection, supervision, engagement and dismissal of judicial personnel at all levels and they should be under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court (the training, selection, supervision, engagement and dismissal of party discipline inspection personnel should be managed by the central discipline inspection commission.) Cadres at various levels engaged in military and government work should, when they have committed an offense, be prosecuted by the chief procurators of the courts at various levels or by the people and the discipline inspection committee depending on rank. (For example, top-ranking military and government personnel should be impeached by the national people's congress and then prosecuted by the chief procurator of the Supreme Court. Personnel from the various provinces, municipalities and regions should be impeached by the provincial, municipal or regional people's congress and prosecuted by the chief procurator of the intermediate court, and so on). We must have a group of party discipline inspection personnel and judicial personnel who are willing to expend much energy and effort and who are not intimidated by power and influence, to act as the spearhead and supporters of the highest leading group of the central authorities and to devote major efforts, to and pave the way for, the tightening up of party discipline and the enforcement of morality and the law.

With the inspection and judicial bodies established on the basis of party discipline and law, but without enough qualified personnel or any preventive system to safeguard against interference or any other counterbalancing force, law and party discipline will predictably exist in name only. Of the discipline inspection personnel in the localities at present, how many of them do not have connections with the party leaders in the localities where they are? How many judicial personnel dare disobey the commands and orders of party leaders or deal with official business according to the book? If the Central Committee could conscientiously employ discipline inspection and judicial personnel with legal knowledge and moral self-cultivation and who have the courage to uphold the law, and on their appointment also look into whether each of them has any relations in the party and government in the localities where they will be working, then definitely, in the course of

discharging their duties, they will not only be spared any undue influence or oppression, but also any pressure from family commitments. Only then will there be any hope of tightening up on party discipline, making clear the rule of law and producing more upright officials like Bao Gong and Hai Rui.

Ever since the pragmatists headed by Deng Xiaoping took charge of the highest leading group of the central authorities, many popular fruitful things have been done. Take for instance the increase in agricultural production and the improvement in the peasants' lives, the whole country praise people like Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang from the bottom of their hearts. Now, although there is [word unintelligible] cult and the gratitude in the people's hearts is not expressed in words, there is ultimately no way of [passage garbled]. However, as for certain cadres' illegal activities, pursuit of personnel privileges and corrupt and bureaucratic practices, the people can do nothing but face them with aching heads and knitted brows. They all hope that Deng Xiaoping will turn thunder-like rage into courage and display willpower in getting rid of difficulties and eradicating these flaws that are detrimental to both the state and the people. The reason I put forth these suggestions in this article is that I feel that the pragmatists are not strong enough to handle things with ease. In fact, only if learned persons with strong willpower and courage are promoted and grouped into a strong reformist team can the power of the pragmatists, headed by Deng Xiaoping be strengthened. In this way, the pragmatists can gradually, steadily and peacefully push forward their plans and tentative policies from one department to all departments and from one district to all districts throughout the country. Then no problems, including that of instituting the rule of law, will be too difficult to solve.

As for thoroughly instituting the rule of law, we should enforce strict management over party members and cadres and mete out severe punishment to them. Not only those guilty of corruption, but also those who have failed to perform their duty, who have been guilty of negligence in public affairs or who have appointed non-professionals should be severely punished. As a result, those who hold down a job without doing a stroke of work and those who are told old or ignorant will know when something is difficult and naturally back out. Thus the life long tenure cadre system will automatically be abolished and the iron rice bowl will be broken. In the light of this chain reaction, we can see that the thorough implementation of the rule of law is a fundamental prerequisite for ruling the country. Without thoroughly instituting the rule of law, we will never be able to realize with any degree of perfection various good economic policies, good politics and good ideology. Using stiff penalties to govern a chaotic country is an irrefutable truth in any society and at any time. If the fourth session of the fifth NPC, which is to be held in the near future, affirms the thorough implementation of the draft for the rule of law and conscientiously and truly puts it into practice, everyone throughout the country will be overwhelmed with joy. "It is better for one household than the whole region to suffer and cry." Pragmatists in the leading group within the Central Committee headed by Deng Xiaoping definitely have a profound understanding of this. The key to reversing the order of events and bringing order out of chaos will definitely be decided by our achievements in thoroughly instituting the rule of law in the future. If we do not thoroughly institute the rule of law, we will not be able to impose sanctions on those party members who violate law and discipline, to get rid of aged and ossified cadres or employ learned and capable

persons to achieve the goal of making the best use of people's talents and putting people in jobs to which they are suited. Even if the constitution is amended, of what use will it be and how should we enforce it? I have always advocated that the PRC should separate the party and the government and that the judiciary should also be separated from the party leadership. Thus, I fully support the proposal for the amendment of the constitution at the fourth session of the fifth NPC. Nevertheless, the thorough implementation of the rule of law undoubtedly remains a prerequisite for this.

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'HSIN WAN PAO' ON MAA BIH'S RETURN TO MAINLAND

HK130710 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 11 Nov 81 p 4

[Special article by Chin Jun-liang [4440 3387 5328]: "The Desire for Family Reunion Is Irresistible--Thoughts on Professor Maa Bih's Returning and Settling Down on the Mainland"]

[Text] Professor Maa Bih came to Hong Kong from the mainland in 1949 and went to Taiwan in 1951. Surely he did not expect to be away from home and family for over 30 years. It is not hard to imagine how much an old man like him would have missed his wife and children who still live in his hometown.

According to UPI, in addition to his wife and 6 children, Professor Maa Bih also has 17 grandchildren whom he had never seen. It is hardly conceivable that an old man like him would have had no strong desire to go back to his hometown and be reunited with his family. Unfortunately, the separation of the motherland made him suffer a long separation from his family. Yet, not only Professor Maa Bih, but tens of thousands of people have undergone the same misfortune.

For many years, the CCP has called on the Taiwan authorities to let the people on both sides of the strait exchange mail and visit their relatives. The second point of Chairman Ye Jianying's statement on 30 September pointed out: "It is the urgent desire of the people of all nationalities on both sides of the strait to communicate with each other, reunite with their families and relatives, develop trade and increase mutual understanding." It again raised the problem of the "three contacts" and "four exchanges." The seventh point stated: "For people of all nationalities and public figures of various circles in Taiwan who wish to come and settle on the mainland, it is guaranteed that proper arrangements will be made for them, that there will be no discrimination against them, and that they will have the freedom of entry and exit." Unfortunately, these fair and reasonable proposals were regarded by some people in Taiwan as a "conspiratorial measure of the united front" and were rejected with such words as "forever" and "never." Taiwan has always called itself "free China." However, they will "never" take into consideration such minimum requirements for freedom as writing to or reuniting with relatives, and will "forever" reject such proposals. Is this not a scathing revelation of the so-called "free China?"

Yet the desire of family reunion is irresistible. Although his position is not very high, Professor Maa Bih is well-known in Taiwan. At the advanced age of 70, he

determinedly gave up all this and returned to the mainland. The only reason is that he wished to reunite with his wife and children, who he had been away from for more than 30 years and to see his sons- and daughters-in-law as well as the grandchildren who he had never seen. This is human nature. If the Taiwan authorities continue to suppress such human feeling, they will surely get what they do not expect.

According to a report in Taiwan, Professor Maa Bih's 93-year-old father, together with his second wife and a daughter still live in Taiwan. When interviewed by an AP correspondent, Professor Maa Bih's second wife, who lives in Taipei said: "It was because of his serious homesickness that my husband made such a decision. Now my only wish is that he will return to Taipei again to live with us." This wish is so earnest and sincere that everyone who hears it will be moved. Professor Maa Bih could not endure the suffering of being separated from his relatives on the mainland, nor will he be able to endure the sufferings of being separated from his relatives in Taiwan. He deeply missed his relatives on the mainland when he was in Taiwan, and after his return to the mainland, will certainly greatly miss his relatives in Taiwan. Is there really no way to satisfy the two desires of Professor Maa Bih, who is at the advanced age of 70? Of course there is. There is one way, and that is Chairman Ye Jianying's nine-point statement. If all these nine proposals cannot be realized at the same time, why can we not first put the second point into practice?

I am absolutely in favor of the appeal of Professor Maa Bih's second wife. After his reunion with the relatives in the mainland, Professor Maa Bih should be able to go back to Taiwan again to live with his 93-year-old father and his second wife and his daughter. This is a natural appeal. I hope the Taiwan authorities will take into consideration the wish of Professor Maa Bih and the appeal of his second wife, carefully restudy the nine-point proposal of the CCP, act in accordance with the will of the 1 billion Chinese people, and stop using words as "forever" and "never." The desire for family reunion is an irresistible trend that cannot be stopped by attacks such as those referring to it as a "conspiratorial measure of the united front."

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'WEN WEI PO' ON U.S.-USSR MISSILES TALKS

HK201249 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 20 Nov 81 p 2

[Editorial: "The Reagan Plan Hits Three Birds With One Stone"]

[Text] The U.S.-USSR talks on restricting nuclear weapons in Europe will be held in Geneva on 30 November. The talks will mainly discuss the matter of medium-range missiles in Europe. Before the talks, U.S. President Reagan in a message to Soviet Chairman Brezhnev on 18 November put forth a four-point proposal for reducing the number of medium-range missiles in Europe. It is anticipated that this four-point proposal will be the focus of discussion in Geneva talks.

The most vital point in this four-point proposal is, if the Soviet Union will withdraw its medium-range missiles which can hit cities in Western Europe, the United States will immediately cancel its plan to deploy sophisticated missiles in Western Europe. This point in the proposal is also the "zero option" on which the United States and the West European countries are more or less in complete accord. Therefore, the announcement of Reagan's proposal has been warmly received by the West European allies of the United States and Japan.

However, the Soviet official sources immediately made a comment through their media holding that the preconditions put forward by the United States for the Geneva talks will not bring about agreement. This in fact amounts to a rejection of the proposal.

The proposal made by Reagan under conditions whereby the West is suffering from an inferior nuclear balance in Europe seems almost to be wishful thinking, and the Soviet rejection is predictable. However, this is not where the significance of Reagan's proposal lies, but in the role it will play in the U.S.-Soviet nuclear race in future.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has concentrated on the development of new types of medium-range nuclear missiles. It has now deployed some 972 SS-20 medium-range missiles in Europe, all of which are mobile and can carry 3 warheads. The number of missiles is still being increased and the models are constantly updated. The Soviet Union at present enjoys a 3 to 1 superiority in the number of missiles deployed in Europe over the NATO countries. What is more, there are 270 SS-20 missiles inside the Soviet Union and two-thirds of them are aimed at Western Europe.

In the 1960's, the United States deployed the "Neptune" strategic missiles in Western Europe. NATO originally made a decision in 1979 to deploy cruise missiles and Pershing missiles in the latter part of 1983. However, this decision has all along been a source of controversy among the West European countries. The British and West German authorities have taken a more positive attitude toward this decision. However, with the emergence of pacificism in the West European countries in recent years, there have been constant protest demonstrations among the people opposing the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles. The pressure posed by these movements has affected the attitude of the government. The Soviet Union in recent years has been working hard to break up the relations between the West European countries and the United States. President Brezhnev will soon be making a visit to Western Europe. It is anticipated that his visit will also bolster the morale of the peace movement in Western Europe.

The proposal made by Reagan at this time not only will play the role of allaying the peace movement among the people in Western Europe, but there is also the hope of achieving a nuclear balance in Western Europe by diplomatic means. Whether the goals can be reached or not is another matter.

It is anticipated that there will be a fierce debate by both sides over this U.S. proposal in the forthcoming Geneva talks. The Soviet Union and the United States have been through 10 years of difficult negotiations on "SALT II" and the outcome of that was a treaty unfavorable to the United States. It is expected that the Geneva talks will be another marathon dialogue. The United States is hoped that the Soviet Union will make concessions and will agree to a "zero" nuclear balance in Europe. However, Brezhnev has maintained that the medium-range nuclear forces of both sides in Europe are roughly balanced and there is no room for bargaining.

The Soviet Union has put the stress on military pressure in Europe. Nuclear deterrent has become the principle means of U.S.-Soviet contention in Europe. The Reagan administration has reiterated that there must be a nuclear balance. This proposal made by Reagan has taken the diplomatic initiative from the Soviet Union, allayed the pressure of West European pacificism, and paved the way for the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. At the same time, it has also gained national support, developed its nuclear strength and contended with the Soviet Union. This indeed can be described as hitting three birds with one stone.

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'HSIN WAN PAO' ON U.S. ARMS, COMPUTER SALES

HK210827 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 21 Nov 81 p 1

[New Talk" column: "The Arms Card and the Sovereignty Card"]

[Text] Are they going to sell or not? This is the question. This is a question for the United States, and also for China.

The single word "sell" means business for two sides--the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

The seller is the United States, and the buyers are those on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. The United States wants to continue selling arms to Taiwan and still intends to sell them advanced fighters; the United States has also expressed willingness to sell arms to the mainland, but in this it has encountered a lot of trouble, and it is not even willing to sell non-military precision scientific instruments.

According to the latest news, U.S. businessmen wanted to sell China a computer for meteorological observations, but the U.S. Government has banned the sale.

Washington also frequently says it is friendly toward Beijing! When Treasury Secretary Regan visited Beijing a few days ago, he brought with him a message from President Reagan saying that his administration put relations between the United States and China in an important place in its foreign policy.

Is it a friendly act to refuse to sell even a meteorological computer?

Despite Beijing's resolute opposition, Washington has never agreed to stop selling arms to Taiwan, and has not even clearly stated that at least it will not sell advanced fighters. To whom is it being friendly?

At the moment when Beijing has unprecedentedly stretched out the hand of peaceful reunification to Taiwan, and appealed for reciprocal talks and KMT-CCP cooperation, what is Washington's intention in persistently carrying on these arms deals? Do you mean to say Washington is going to let these weapons help in the peaceful reunification of Taiwan and the mainland?

U.S. Secretary of State Haig and his State Department recently clearly expressed their attitude toward Ye Jianying's nine-point proposal, holding that it was

significant and compatible with the spirit of American hopes for a peaceful solution on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. They put it quite well; but what do we find if we listen to what they say and observe what they do?

When Premier Zhao Ziyang went to attend the Cancun meeting in Mexico, he and Reagan both pledged not to play the "Soviet card" or the "China card." However, on the Taiwan issue, people cannot but ask, is Washington playing the arms card?

People cannot help thinking that it is "perverse action" to refuse to sell things one should and to refuse to stop selling things one should not.

The result of such perversion is bound to be a retrogression, and the only road Beijing-Washington relations can take in that event will be retrograde. If such a thing happens, it certainly cannot be compared with the downgrading of Sino-Dutch relations, and the White House cannot be ignorant of how great the effects will be.

If it is said that Beijing too is prepared to play a card, then it will be the sovereignty card. Selling arms to Taiwan is interference in China's internal affairs and infringing on its sovereignty. The White House cannot disavow this by citing commitments, as in the past.

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'WEN WEI PO': MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT CAN BE USED TO GOVERN COUNTRY

HK241322 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu [4619 6015 1311]: "Mao Zedong Thought Can Govern the Country"]

[Text] It is said that Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are merely theories and methods for conquering a country and are "theories on horseback" which cannot be used to govern a country. This is a new idea published recently by a newspaper in Hong Kong.

What is referred to as "theory on horseback" derives from a story in history. Here I shall recount it. According to "Chronicles of Han Dynasty," Hangaozu Liu Bang looked down upon the intellectuals. When Lu Jia, an intellectual, constantly talked to him about "the canon of song" and "the canon of history" after he succeeded in conquering the country, he was very impatient and bawled at Lu Jian in anger: "I conquered the country on horseback without the use of 'the canon of song' and 'the canon of history'!" Lu Jian calmly replied: You have indeed conquered the country on horseback. But can you govern the country on horseback?" Liu Bang was not pleased when he heard this, and he was somewhat ashamed. So he ordered Lu Jian to write articles, discussing the reasons for the subjugation of the Qin Dynasty and the Han Dynasty's conquering of the country as well as the ways to run a country successfully. Lu Jia wrote 12 articles altogether and Liu Bang applauded at every article presented to him. Everyone called the book written by Lu Jia "New Sayings," and the name of a special column of an evening paper in Hong Kong is the same by coincidence.

"Theory on horseback" derives from the words "I conquered the country on horseback," and it is an elegant joke to depreciate Mao Zedong Thought using this term.

Mao Zedong committed mistakes and even serious ones in later years, such as initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution," which was exploited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," bringing about "a decade of civil disturbance" and causing severe losses to country. This was a fact. However, it is rather "slandorous" to say that his thought is "theory on horseback" which cannot be used to govern a country.

Before liberation, he had indeed written a lot of theories about how to conquer a country. For example, during the Jinggangshan period in the decade of civil wars, he wrote "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire"; during the anti-Japanese war period, he wrote famous works such as "On Protracted War." The developments of revolutionary wars and the anti-Japanese war at later stages were just as he had

anticipated. During the liberation war period from 1946 to 1949, he wrote a lot of operational plans for the direction of various battle fronts and won one victory after another.

Even before the liberation, he already had the knack of governing a country. He wrote articles on governing a country, such as "On New People's Democracy," "On Coalition Government" and "China's Two Possible Destinies." Moreover, as far back as during the anti-Japanese war period, he wrote "On Practice" and "On Contradiction"--philosophical works which can be used in battles and in governing a country.

Can we call these famous works "theory on horseback"?

After the liberation, that is, after "conquering the country on horseback," it was necessary to talk about governing the country. He talked about and wrote a lot of articles about socialist revolution and construction. The restoration of production and the development of the economy from the awful mess left over from the Kuomintang was there for all to see. At that time, the imperialists clamored that it was impossible for the CCP to restore production, but in less than 3 years production was restored in an all-round way. When making a report in Shanghai on the economic recovery, Chen Yi quoted two lines from Li Bai's poem: "Yet monkeys are still calling on both banks behind me. To my boat these ten thousand mountains away." This was really an excellent description.

After the recovery of the national economy, Mao Zedong talked "On the 10 Major Relationships," spontaneously discussing the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other; the relationship between economic construction and defense construction, and so on. In the following year in 1957, he again wrote "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" which consists of 12 chapters.

How can these great works on governing a country be regarded as "theory on horseback"?

It is 32 years now since we established new China on the ruins of a semicolonial and semifeudal society. Without Mao Zedong Thought to govern the country, how was it possible for new China to stand safely in the family of nations of the world?

It was also a slander to say that Mao Zedong regarded the intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category" and was bent on doing away with Lu Jia and company. In his later years, Mao Zedong often quoted the sentence in the "Chronicles of the Han Dynasty": "It was always regrettable that Lu Jia knew nothing about military affairs and that Zhou Bo was lacking in knowledge of the Belles letters." He told a few old comrades of the CCP Central Committee about the story of Liu Bang meeting with Li Shiqi who called himself the "wine bibber of Gaoyang" and the story of Lu Jia remonstrating Liu Bang, and said that we should by no means "govern the country on horseback." He advised General Xu Shiyu to read more books. When certain persons mentioned to him about the "stinking ninth category," Mao Zedong quoted the line from the Beijing opera "Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" in reply: "You must not go, old ninth."

Mao Zedong made some mistakes in dealing with the intellectuals, but his main approach was to recognize the role and contributions of the intellectuals. During the times of Yanan, he wrote an article entitled "Recruit a Large Number of Intellectuals." And this he did.

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'HSIN WAN PAO' ON BEIJING CONSULTATIVE MEETING

HK261003 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 26 Nov 81 p 2

["New Talk" column: "Things That Happened in Beijing and Taipei Yesterday"]

[Text] Just like last year, Beijing held a 2-day democratic consultative conference before the NPC and CPPCC are scheduled to meet.

Last year, it was Hua Guofeng who presided over the meeting. This year, it is Li Xiannian's turn. Hua Guofeng presided over the meeting last year in the capacity of chairman of the CCP Central Committee. This year, Li Xiannian did so in the capacity of vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee.

Unlike the supreme state conference before the "Cultural Revolution" which was convened by Mao Zedong in the capacity of chairman, the present democratic consultative conference is convened by the CCP for the purpose of holding consultations with other parties and nonparty figures on matters of fundamental importance. Both last year's and this year's consultative conferences dwelled on how to make a success of the upcoming NPC and CPPCC sessions. This shows that the atmosphere of democracy and consultation has been growing in these last couple of years.

Li Xiannian said: The main purpose of this year's NPC and CPPCC sessions is to further mobilize the whole country to make concentrated efforts to do a good job in economic, political and ideological work. The political issue was added to the topics of discussion, as was speculated earlier, but it looks like economic work will be the focal point of attention.

Li Xiannian also mentioned something about the election of additional leaders to the NPC Standing Committee. Since he was talking about the election of additional members and not a reelection, it looks like there are going to be a few more vice chairmen.

As the Beijing democratic consultative conference entered its second day, Taipei also held an important conference yesterday. The Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Committee met and decided to reorganize the "executive yuan" as well as the "provincial government" of Taiwan and the "municipal government" of Taipei.

Characteristic of the newly elected officials is that they are mostly Taiwan born, relatively young and well-versed in economics and technology. Among the 10 newly elected officials of the "executive yuan," "Vice President" Chiu Chuang-huan, "Minister of Interior" Lin Yang-kang, "Minister of Communications" Lien Chan, "administrative committee member" Lin Chin-sheng and "chairman of the Cultural Construction Commission" Chen Chi-lu, accounting for half the number, are Taiwan born. If "chairman" of Taiwan Province Li Teng-hui and "mayor" of Taipei Shao En-hsin are also included in this list, that will put the number of newly elected Taiwan born officials to seven. They are mostly younger than their predecessors and quite a few have studied in the United States.

Reports said that this reorganization had been brewing for a long time and was not announced until after the local elections were held. However, the announcement itself came quite suddenly, some 2 months after Ye Jianying had put forth his nine-point proposal. This cannot but draw considerable attention. To tell the truth, this was quite a reorganization.

The significance of this reorganization remains to be seen, but one thing is certain: Chiang Ching-kuo is handing out more and more posts to the Taiwan born people, although most of these people are his trusted followers.

According to the announcement, these major personnel changes were "verified" by the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Committee. The parties on both sides of the strait have wills of their own. It is interesting to know if some people would find something "verified" more democratic than "democratic consultation" or "democratic voting."

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'WEN WEI PO' ON PRC'S LATEST INVITATIONS TO TAIWAN

HK300924 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 30 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu: "Another Invitation to Mr Chiang To Sit Down and Talk"]

[Text] Beijing has once more voiced its urge for peaceful reunification and advised Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to accept holding peace talks at an early date.

There have been two instances of urging peaceful reunification: the first was in Peng Chong's speech at the rally in memory of martyr Deng Yanda and the second was in Liao Chengzhi's article published in the journal LIAOWANG.

Just listen to what Peng Chong has said. He said that he hoped that the Kuomintang authorities in Taiwan would put the interests of the Chinese nation first, make a firm determination, remove all their doubts and apprehensions and accept the proposal for peace talks between the Kuomintang and the CCP. He said, "We would like to advise Mr Chiang Ching-kuo that it would be better to accept our proposal for peace talks between the Kuomintang and the CCP at an early date and sit down at the negotiating table with us to discuss the major issue of the reunification of the nation."

Please, just look at what Liao Chengzhi has written. He wrote, "These nine points are not expedient measures. They were not drawn up out of consideration of strategy, or for the purpose of launching a propaganda offensive nor are they to be used to embarrass the other party. On the contrary, they are the measures adopted for the grand future and the interests of the state and the nation. The unification of the motherland and the interests of the nation require us to do so." He also said, "brooding on old scores will not help. We should mainly look at the present and into the future. It will be impossible to start talks if we always breed on old scores."

I cite the words of the two personalities once more here, because I deeply feel that these words were said with full sincerity and a thorough insight and entirely out of the consideration of the interests of the state and the public. Therefore they conform to the nation's cardinal principles of righteousness. Moreover, the words of each echoed the other's. Liao's four

negations and one affirmation explained and added to Peng Chong's hope that the Kuomintang would remove their "doubts and apprehensions." Has the Kuomintang not entertained doubts and apprehensions about the nine points proposal in the past 2 months? Has it not called the proposal a "united front scheme," a "propaganda offensive," a "strategy to isolate us in the eyes of world public opinion" or an attempt to "create the false impression that we are refusing peace?" (The last point meant that we were embarrassing the Taiwan authorities.) Referring to the above allegation by the Kuomintang, Liao Chengzhi answered by making the four negations.

There is another identical point in both Peng's and Liao's words. In his article Liao Chengzhi said, "The Taiwan authorities have always adhered to two principles: unification of the motherland and opposition to hegemonism. Proceeding from these two common points, both parties can find more common aspects." These words of Liao's were published in LIAOWANG earlier than Peng's speech on 29 October. Sure enough, in Peng's speech, more common aspects were found.

Please, let us see what Peng Chong said. He said, "Though the Kuomintang and the CCP differ in their understanding of certain problems, they both hold that there is only one China and that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, both are willing to build China into a powerful modernized country and to raise the levels of people's material and cultural life, both entertain the desire to defend the integrity of our territory from invasion, and both sides uphold the view that they should oppose hegemonism and aggressive policies and safeguard world peace."

Liao's and Peng's words were obviously not written or spoken at random. They are obviously the viewpoints of the CCP Central Committee. These viewpoints were not rashly arrived at, for they showed Beijing's affirmation of Taiwan Kuomintang authorities' basic stand of patriotism and of the nation's cardinal principles of righteousness. This is just what Liao meant when he said, "Brooding on the old scores will not help. We should mainly look at the present and into the future."

With regard to the "present," there are so many common aspects; and with regard to the "future," let both sides sit down at the negotiating table to discuss them.

Are there still differences? Yes, there are. But they can be presented at the negotiating table. As Peng Chong said, Let us search for the major aspects that both sides agree on and let the differences in minor aspects stand. Let both sides agree on what they will and let what they cannot agree on stand.

Since Marshal Ye raised his nine-point proposal the leading figures in Beijing have given few formal speeches. The first one was the speech given by Hu Yaobang at the rally commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution, at which Hu invited Chiang Ching-kuo and a dozen of other personalities to visit the mainland. Later, Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang talked about the nine-point

proposal for solving the Taiwan problem when they were receiving foreign guests, but these words are not formally presented. Peng's and Liao's words this time were the formal message given to the Taiwan side. Moreover, it was the first time advice was given to Mr Chiang to accept holding the peace talks. Both Peng and Liao are vice-chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee, and the former is, moreover, a member of the political bureau of the CCP Central Committee. We can thus appreciate the significance of their words.

Judging from the above, I am quite sure that there will be further development of this problem at the coming NPC and CPPCC sessions.

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INTERVIEW WITH OLD FRIEND OF CHIANG CHING-KUO

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Huang Zhimin [7806 2535 2404]: "Jointly Strive For Fervent Revival of China; A Visit With Mr Chiang Ching-kuo's old friend, Lai Zhongsheng. [6351 6988 5116]"]

[Text] "My name is Lai Zhongsheng, Mr Chiang Ching-kuo's student, subordinate, and good friend." This is the way Mr Lai introduced himself to me. "Myself and Wang Sheng [3769 0581], Li Huan [2621 3562], and Chu Sung-ch'iu [2806 1516 4428], all of whom occupy important posts on Taiwan today, formerly enjoyed the greatest confidence and high regard of Mr Chiang Ching-kuo.

"Then the relationship among you is still quite deep!"

"Yes. The several of us were, in fact, the 'little nucleus' of Mr Chiang Ching-kuo's cadre team..."

Mr Lai Zhongsheng is now 64 years old. In 1942 he graduated from the civil engineering department of Southwest United University, passing the examination the following year to enter the research department of the Central Cadre School. This was, in fact, a school devoted exclusively to the training of various kinds of people needed by Chiang Ching-kuo, Mr Chiang Kai-shek personally serving as the school's director. Mr Chiang Ching-kuo was the Minister of Education. It was from this time that Mr Lai Zhongsheng began to work jointly with Mr Chiang Ching-kuo, very quickly making himself very useful, and serving in positions as a major general and department chief in the 206 Division of the Kuomintang Youth Army. In March 1948, he was taken prisoner in the liberation of Loyang.

After reviewing the history of the past 40 years, Mr Lai Zhongsheng turned to talk of his own feelings about Military Affairs Commission Chairman Ye Jianying's talk on the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and the realization of peaceful unification. He said, "This talk conforms to the historical trend of the times, and has a lot of appeal. As a Chinese and as an old friend of Mr Chiang Ching-kuo, I urge Mr Ching-kuo to be wise, resolute, and make the decision to have the 18 million people of Taiwan Link hands with the billion people of the motherland to complete the great task of unifying the motherland, and jointly strive for a fervent revival of China! After thinking for a little while, he said, "The nine proposals that Military Affairs Commission Chairman Ye put forward are a great program for the peaceful unification of the motherland! If they do not accept this proposal, which

provides for equality and mutual benefit, and is extremely magnanimous, they will lose public support, and will be shown to be wrong before the Chinese people, including Taiwan compatriots, and the people of the whole world.

After speaking, he sipped his tea, and then started with an episode to tell about the impression that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo had given him. He said, "I was studying 'XY.'" I took the examination to enter the Central Cadre School in the expectation of acquiring more knowledge, only to realize later on that this was no place for learning. I therefore several times suggested to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo that I not continue on, but rather go abroad to study. Mr Chiang Ching-kuo said that fighting the Japanese invaders to save China was to learn. I felt this made sense, so I stayed on. In truth, at that time many people who had inside information saw that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and his father had many divergences in views on politics. He accepted the Communist Party's proposals for uniting all parties and mobilizing the people of the entire country to resist Japan. At the school he permitted the students to see XINHUA RIBAO [NEW CHINA DAILY NEWS], and to read Marx's "Das Kapital." Mr Chiang Ching-kuo gave people a deep impression. I think that if he only would reflect, he would be able to uncover the patriotism he felt in those years, and he would be able to courageously bury the hatchet and devote himself to the peaceful unification of the motherland.

In speaking of his own experiences, Mr Lai Zhongsheng said, "After I was taken prisoner at Loyang, I had two very deep feelings. One was that the Communist Party keeps its promises. The other was that if one is truly patriotic, he will be warmly welcomed." He said, "After the country was entirely liberated, I worked in education work in Beijing, and was designated a first rate teacher. Now I am teaching at the No 92 Middle School, and I have been a member of the board of directors of the Beijing Municipal Physics Society, and on the editorial committee of WULI TONGBAO [PHYSICS BULLETIN]. Now I am on the standing committee of Beijing's Chongwen District People's Political Consultative Conference. Last year I was recruited as a member of the Beijing Municipal People's Revolutionary Committee." While Mr Lai was talking animatedly, his wife, Bi Juzhen [3968 5468 4176] interrupted saying, "One of our four children is at Qinghua University and the other three are working. Our family's living expense money averaged 45 yuan per person per month. We have bought a color television set and a washing machine. Life is very good! While talking, she took us to see her home. While we were looking at it, Mr Lai Zhongsheng said with emotion, "It has been more than 30 years since Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and I parted in Nanjing. But on the day of the great reunion, I would still like to invite Mr Ching-kuo to be a guest in my home.

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BRIEFS

JIANGSU TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS CONGRESS--The first congress of Taiwan compatriots in Nanjing, Jiangsu ended on 11 November. The congress announced the inauguration of the Association of Taiwan Compatriots in Nanjing, Jiangsu and elected a leading body of the association, as well as four representatives to the upcoming first national congress of Taiwan compatriots in Beijing. The congress also adopted a letter to the compatriots in Taiwan. Jiang Zonglu and Liang Shangren, director of the Jiangsu provincial and the Nanjing municipal CCP committee's united front work department respectively, spoke at the closing ceremony urging the association to play the role of a bridge in promoting the modernization and reunification of the motherland. [OW161149 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Nov 81]

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